A

VIEW

OF

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Beginning of the WORLD,

TO THE

EMPIRE of CHARLEMAIN:

BY

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M,DCC,LXXVIII.

A

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OF

Univerſal Hiſtory.

IN this decline of religion, and of the Jewiſh affairs, at the end of Herod's reign, and in the time the Phariſees were introducing ſo many abuſes, JESUS CHRIST was ſent upon earth, to reſtore the kingdom into the houſe of David, after a more ſublime manner than the carnal Jews underſtood it, and to preach the doctrine which God had reſolved ſhould be proclaimed to the whole world. This wonderful child, called by Iſaiah, *the mighty God, the everlaſting father*, and *the prince of peace*, is born of a virgin at Bethlehem, and comes thither to acknowlege the origin of his race. Conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, holy in his birth, alone worthy to repair the imperfection of ours, he receives the name of JESUS, or *Savior*, becauſe *he ſhall ſave his people from their*

VI. Jeſus Chriſt, and his doctrine,

Iſ. ix. 6.

Matth. i. 21.

their ſins. Immediately upon his birth, a new ſtar, the type of that light he was to ſhow to the heathen, appears in the Eaſt; and guides, to the infant Savior, the firſt-fruits of the converſion of the Gentiles. A little after, that Lord, ſo deſired, comes to his holy temple, where Simeon beholds him,
Luke ii. 32. not onely *the glory of Iſrael*, but *a light to lighten the Gentiles.* When the time of preaching his goſpel drew near, John Baptiſt, who was *to prepare his way*, called all ſinners to repentance; and with his crying made the wilderneſs reſound, where he had lived from his earlieſt years with equal auſterity and innocence. The people, who for five hundred years had ſeen no prophet, acknowleged this new Elias, and were ready to take him for the Savior; ſo wondrous did his ſanctity appear: but himſelf pointed out to the people,
John i. 27. him, *whoſe ſhoes latchet he was not worthy to unlooſe.* At length JESUS CHRIST begins to preach his goſpel, and to reveal the ſecrets he ſaw from eternity in the boſom of his fa-
Matth. x. 2. ther. He lays the foundation of his church
Mark iii. 16. by the calling of twelve fiſhermen, and puts
Luke vi. 14. Peter at the head of the flock, with ſo ma-
Acts i. 13. nifeſt a prerogative, that the evangeliſts,
Matth. xvi. 18. who, in the enumeration of the apoſtles, obſerve no certain order, agree in naming Peter before the reſt, as the firſt. JESUS CHRIST makes a tour through Judea, filling it with his benefits; healing the ſick, having compaſſion upon ſinners, whoſe true phyſician he ſhows himſelf, by the acceſs he allows

allows them to his preſence; giving men to feel at once an authority and a ſweetneſs, that never had appeared but in his perſon. He announces high myſteries, but confirms them by high miracles; he enjoins great virtues, but gives at the ſame time great lights; ſets an arduous example, and conveys the power to follow it. Thus do we behold him *full of grace and truth, and we all receive of his fulneſs.* John i. 14, 15, 16.

All is conſiſtent in his perſon; his life, his doctrine, his miracles. The ſame truth ſhines through the whole: every thing concurs to exhibit in him the maſter of mankind, and the pattern of perfection.

He, and onely he, living among men, and in the ſight of all the world, could ſay, without danger of being belied, *which of you arraigneth me of ſin?* And again, *I am the light of the world: my meat is to do the will of him that ſent me. He, that ſent me, is with me: the father hath not left me alone; for I do always thoſe things that pleaſe him.* John viii. 46. — 12, 29. iv. 34.

His miracles are of a peculiar order, and of a new character. They are not *ſigns in the heaven*, ſuch as the Jews ſought after: he works them almoſt all upon men themſelves, and to the healing of their infirmities. All theſe miracles ſpeak more goodneſs than power; and do not ſo much ſurpriſe the beholders, as they touch the bottom of their hearts. He performs them with authority: demons and diſeaſes obey him: at his word, the blind receive their ſight, the dead ariſe, Matth. xvi. 1.

and ſins are forgiven. The principle of the miracles is in himſelf; they flow from their fource: *I perceive*, ſays he, *that virtue is gone out of me.* And indeed no one had ever wrought either ſo great or ſo many; yet he promiſes that his diſciples ſhall, in his name, *do* ſtill *greater works than theſe:* ſo fruitful, ſo exhauſtleſs, is the virtue he bears in himſelf.

Luke vi. 19. viii. 46.

John xiv. 12.

Who would not admire the condeſcenſion, with which he tempers the ſublimity of his doctrine? It is milk for babes, and at the ſame time meat for the ſtrong. We ſee him full of the ſecrets of God; but we ſee him not aſtoniſhed at them, like other mortals, to whom God is pleaſed to communicate himſelf. He ſpeaks naturally of them, as born in thoſe ſecrets, and in that glory; and, what *he hath without meaſure*, he diſpenſes with meaſure, that ſo our weakneſs may be able to bear it.

John iii. 34.

Although he be ſent for the whole world, he addreſſes himſelf at firſt onely to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael, to whom indeed he was ſent in a more eſpecial manner: but he prepares the way for the converſion of the Samaritans and Gentiles. A woman of Samaria acknowleges him the CHRIST, expected by her nation, as well as by that of the Jews; and learns of him the myſtery of the new worſhip, which ſhould no longer be confined to one place. A woman of Canaan, and an idolatreſs, though at firſt rejected, forces from him, ſo to ſpeak, the cure of her daughter.

John iv. 21. 25.

Matt. xv. 22.

daughter. He diſcovers among the Gentiles, in various places, the children of Abraham; and ſpeaks of his doctrine as to be preached, gainſaid, and received over the whole earth. The world had never ſeen any ſuch thing; and his apoſtles were aſtoniſhed at it. He does not at all conceal from his followers, the firy trials through which they are to paſs. He ſhows them violence and ſeduction employed againſt them, perſecutions, falſe doctrines, falſe brethren, war within, and war without, the faith purified by all thoſe trials; in the laſt days, the decay of that faith, and charity waxing cold among his diſciples; in the midſt of ſo many dangers, his church and the truth never to be prevailed againſt. Matt. viii. 10, 11. Matt. xvi. 18.

Here then behold a new conduct, and a new order of things! The children of God are no longer promiſed temporal rewards: JESUS CHRIST ſets forth to them a future life; and, keeping them ſuſpended in that expectation, teaches them to diſengage themſelves from all things of ſenſe. The croſs and patience become their portion upon earth, and *heaven* is propoſed to them as *to be taken by force.* JESUS CHRIST, who points to men this new way, is the firſt to enter upon it: he preaches pure truths, which confound groſs, but ſelf-conceited, men: he detects the hidden pride and hypocriſy of the Phariſees and doctors of the law, who corrupted it by their interpretations. In the midſt of theſe reproaches he honors their miniſtry, and *Moſes' ſeat, where they ſit.* Matt. xi. 12. Matt. xxiii. 2.

He

He is often in the temple, cauſing its holineſs to be reverenced; and ſends back to the prieſts, the lepers he has cleanſed. He thus inſtructs men how they ought to reprove and check abuſes, without prejudice to the miniſtry appointed by God; and ſhows that the body of the ſynagogue ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the corruption of its members. But it was viſibly verging to ruin. The chief prieſts and Phariſees ſtirred up, againſt JESUS CHRIST, the Jewiſh people, whoſe religion was ſinking into ſuperſtition. That people cannot bear the Savior of the world, calling them to a ſolid, but difficult practice. The holieſt and beſt of men, holineſs and goodneſs itſelf, becomes the moſt envied and moſt hated. He is not deterred, nor ceaſes doing good to his countrymen; but he ſees their ingratitude: he foretels with tears its chaſtiſement, and denounces to Jeruſalem her approaching fall. He foretels alſo, that the Jews, enemies to the truth he declared to them, ſhould be given up to error, and become the ſport of falſe prophets. Meantime the jealouſy of the Phariſees and prieſts is bringing him to an infamous puniſhment: his diſciples forſake him; one of them betrays him; the firſt, and moſt zealous of them all, denies him thrice. Accuſed before the council, he honors to the laſt the prieſt's office; and anſwers in preciſe terms the high-prieſt, who interrogates him judicially. But the moment was come, for the ſynagogues reprobation. The high-prieſt and the whole council

council condemn JESUS, becauſe he calls himſelf the CHRIST, the ſon of God. He is delivered to Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor: his innocence is acknowleged by his judge, whom policy and falſe intereſt move to act againſt his conſcience: the juſt one is condemned to death: the greateſt of crimes makes way for the moſt perfect obedience. JESUS, maſter of his life, and of all things, yields himſelf up voluntarily to the fury of wicked men; and offers the ſacrifice, which was to be the expiation of mankind. On the croſs, he beholds in the prophecies, what yet remained for him to do: he fulfils it, and ſays, *It is finiſhed.* At this word, John xix. 30. the world undergoes a univerſal change; the law ceaſes, its figures paſs away, its ſacrifices are aboliſhed by a more perfect oblation. This done, JESUS, with a loud cry, gives up the ghoſt: all nature is moved: the centurion, who watched him, aſtoniſhed at ſuch a death, cries out, *Truly, this was the ſon of God*; and the ſpectators return ſmiting their breaſts. On the third day he riſes again; he appears to his deſerters, who obſtinately diſbelieve his reſurrection. They ſee him, talk with him, touch him, and are convinced. To confirm the faith of his reſurrection, he ſhows himſelf at ſundry times, and in diverſe manners. His diſciples ſee him in private, and they ſee him all together: he is *ſeen of above five hundred brethren at once.* An apoſtle, 1 Cor. xv. 6. who has recorded it, aſſures, that great part of them were yet alive, when he wrote it.

Matt. xxvii. 54. Mark xv. 39.

CHRIST,

CHRIST, riſen, gives his apoſtles what time they will to conſider him; and, after putting himſelf into their hands every way they deſire, ſo that they can no longer retain the ſmalleſt dout, he commands them to bear witneſs of what they have ſeen, of what they have heard, and of what their hands have handled. That none may dout of their candor, any more than of their conviction, he obliges them to ſeal their teſtimony with their blood. Thus their preaching is unſhaken; the foundation of it is a poſitive fact, unanimouſly atteſted by thoſe who ſaw it. Their ſincerity is juſtified by the ſtrongeſt proof imaginable; that of torments, and of death itſelf. Such are the inſtructions the apoſtles received. Upon this foundation twelve fiſhermen undertake the converſion of the world, which they perceive to ſet againſt the laws they have to preſcribe, and the truths they have to proclaim. They are commanded to begin at Jeruſalem, thence to go into all the world, and *teach all nations, baptiſing them in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* JESUS CHRIST promiſes *to be with them alway, even unto the end of the world*; and by this ſaying aſſures the perpetual duration of the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry. Having thus ſpoken, he, in their preſence, aſcends into heaven.

Luke xxiv. 47. Acts i. 8. Mark xvi. 15. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

The promiſes are about to be accompliſhed: the prophecies are going to receive their final elucidation. The Gentiles are called to the knowlege of God, by order of CHRIST raiſed.

A new ceremony is inſtituted for the regeneration of the new people; and the faithful learn, that the true God, the God of Iſrael, that one indiviſible God, to whom they are conſecrated in baptiſm, is at once Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

There then are ſet forth to us the incomprehenſible depths of the Divine Being, the ineffable greatneſs of his unity, and the infinite riches of that nature, ſtill more fruitful within than without, capable of communicating itſelf undivided to three equal perſons.

There are unfolded the myſteries, which were wrapped, and, as it were, ſealed up in the ancient ſcriptures. We now underſtand the ſecret of that ſaying, *Let us make man in our image*; and the Trinity, intimated in the creation of man, is expreſsly declared in his regeneration. Gen. i. 26.

We learn who is that Wiſdom, *whom the Lord poſſeſſed in the beginning of his way, before his works of old*; the Wiſdom, who is all his delight, and by whom all his works are ordained. We know who he was, whoſe birth David ſaw *from the womb of the morning*; and the New Teſtament teaches us, that he is the Word, the internal Word of God, and his eternal thought, who is always in his boſom, and by whom all things were made. Prov. viii. 22. Pſ. cx. 3.

Thus do we anſwer the myſterious queſtion propoſed in the proverbs: *What is* the Almighty's *name, and what is his Son's name, if thou* Prov. xxx. 4.

thou canſt tell? For we know that this name of God, ſo myſterious and ſo concealed, is the name of the Father, underſtood in that profound ſenſe, which makes us conceive him from eternity Father of a Son equal to himſelf; and that the name of his Son is the name of *the Word*; *the Word*, whom he eternally begets by the contemplating of himſelf, who is the perfect expreſſion of his truth, his image, his onely Son, *the brightneſs of his glory, and the expreſs image of his perſon.*

Heb. i. 3.

With the Father and the Son we know alſo the Holy Ghoſt, the love of both, and their eternal union. It is that Spirit who makes the prophets, and is in them to diſcover to them the counſels of God, and the ſecrets of futurity; the ſpirit, of whom it is written, *The Lord God and his Spirit hath ſent me*; who is diſtinguiſhed from the Lord, and is alſo the Lord himſelf, ſince he ſends the prophets, and diſcloſes future things. That Spirit, who ſpeaks to the prophets, and by the prophets, is united with the Father and the Son, and interpoſes with them in the conſecration of the new man.

Iſ. xlviii. 10. 16.

Thus the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, one God in three perſons, ſhown but darkly to our fathers, is clearly revealed in the new covenant. Inſtructed in ſo high a myſtery, and aſtoniſhed at its incomprehenſible depth, we cover our faces before God with the ſeraphim, whom Iſaiah ſaw; and

Iſ. vi. 1, 2, 3.

and with them we worſhip him, who is thrice holy.

It belonged to the onely Son, *who was in the boſom of the Father*, and who, without leaving it, came to us; to him it belonged to diſcover to us fully thoſe wonderful ſecrets of the divine nature, which Moſes and the prophets had but glanced at. John i. 18.

To him it belonged to make us underſtand whence it came to paſs, that the Meſſiah, promiſed as a man, who was to ſave other men, was at the ſame time ſet forth as God in the ſingular number, and abſolutely after the manner in which the Creator is exhibited to us. This indeed he has done, by teaching us that, though the ſon of Abraham, *before Abraham was, he is*; that he *came down from heaven, and yet that he is in heaven*: that he is at once God, the Son of God, and man, the ſon of man; the true Immanuel, God with us; in ſhort, the Word made fleſh, uniting in his perſon the human nature with the divine, in order *to reconcile all things unto himſelf*. Joh. viii. 58. — iii. 13. Col. i. 20

Thus are revealed to us the two great myſteries, that of the Trinity, and that of the incarnation. But he, who has revealed them, gives us to find the image of them in ourſelves; that ſo they may be ever preſent with us, and that we may comprehend the dignity of our nature.

In fact, if we impoſe ſilence on our ſenſes, and ſhut ourſelves up for a while in the inmoſt receſs of our ſoul, in that part where

truth makes her voice to be heard, we there ſhall ſee ſome image of the Trinity we adore. The thought, which we perceive as the offſpring of our mind, as the ſon of our underſtanding, gives us ſome idea of the Son of God eternally conceived in the mind of the heavenly Father. Wherefore this Son of God takes the name of the Word, that ſo we may underſtand him ſpringing in the boſom of the Father; not as bodies ſpring, but as does that internal Word, which we perceive in our ſoul, when we contemplate truth.

Greg. Naz. Orat. 36. Aug. de Trinit. ix. 40. & ſeq. & in Joan. Evang. Tr. 1, &c. de Civ. xi. 26, 27, 28.

But the fruitfulneſs of our mind does not terminate in that internal word, that intellectual thought, that image of the truth, which is formed in us. We love both that internal word, and the mind, in which it ſprings; and by loving it we perceive in ourſelves ſomewhat no leſs precious to us than our mind and our thought, which is the fruit of both, which unites them, is united to them, and conſtitutes with them but one and the ſame life.

Thus, as far as analogy can be found between God and man, is produced in God the eternal love, which proceeds from the Father who thinks, and from the Son who is his thought, in order to make, with him and his thought, one and the ſame nature equally happy and perfect.

In ſhort, God is perfect; and his Word, the living image of infinite truth, is no leſs perfect than he; and his Love, which, proceeding

ceeding from the inexhauſtible ſource of good, has all the fulneſs of it, cannot fail of having an infinite perfection: and, ſince we have no other idea of God, than that of perfection, each of theſe three ſubſiſtences, conſidered in itſelf, merits to be called God: but, becauſe theſe three agree neceſſarily to one and the ſame nature, theſe three are but one God.

We muſt not then conceive any thing unequal, or ſeparate, in this adorable Trinity; and, however incomprehenſible the equality may be, our ſoul, if we liſten, will tell us ſomething of it.

It is; and, when it knows perfectly what it is, its underſtanding correſponds to the truth of its being; and, when it loves its being, together with its underſtanding, as much as they deſerve to be loved, its love equals the perfection of both. Theſe three never part, and contain one another: we underſtand that we are, and that we love; and we love to be, and to underſtand. Who can deny this, that underſtands himſelf? And not onely one is no better than another; but the three together are no better than any one of them in particular, ſeing each contains the whole, and in the three conſiſt the happineſs and dignity of the rational nature. Thus, and infinitely beyond, is perfect, inſeparable, one in eſſence, and every way equal, the Trinity whom we worſhip, and to whom we are conſecrated in our baptiſm. Aug. loc. cit.

But ourſelves, who are the image of the Trinity, are in another reſpect the image of the incarnation.

Our ſoul, of a ſpiritual and incorruptible nature, has a corruptible body united to it; and from the union of both reſults a whole, which is man, a mind and body together, incorruptible and corruptible, intelligent and merely brutiſh. Theſe attributes agree to the whole, reſpectively to its two parts. Thus the divine Word, whoſe virtue ſuſtains the whole, unites itſelf in a peculiar manner; or rather becomes itſelf, by a perfect union, that JESUS CHRIST, the ſon of Mary: which makes him to be God and man together; begotten in eternity, and begotten in time; ever living in the boſom of the Father, and dying upon the croſs for our ſalvation.

Aug. Ep. iii. ad Voluſ. c. 3. de Civ. x. 29. Cyr. Ep. ad Valerian. p. iii. Conc. Eph. &c. Symb. Ath. &c.

Yet, wherever God is concerned, compariſons drawn from human things cannot but be imperfect. Our ſoul is not before our body; and ſomething is wanting to that, when ſeparated from this. The Word, perfect in itſelf from eternity, unites itſelf to our nature, onely to honor it. That ſoul, who preſides over the body, and makes various changes in it, ſuffers ſome from it in her turn. If the body moves at the command, and according to the will of the ſoul, the ſoul is troubled, the ſoul is afflicted and agitated a thouſand ways, painful or pleaſing, according to the diſpoſitions of the body; ſo that, as the ſoul exalts the body to her

her by governing it, ſhe is alſo debaſed beneath it by the things ſhe ſuffers from it. But, in JESUS CHRIST, the Word preſides over all, the Word keeps all under its guidance. Thus man is exalted, and the Word is not debaſed by any ſituation: immovable and unalterable, it rules in all things, and in all places, that nature which is united to it.

Hence it comes, that, in JESUS CHRIST, man abſolutely ſubject to the inward direction of the Word, which exalts him to itſelf, has none but divine thoughts, none but divine affections. All he thinks, all he wills, all he ſays, all he conceals within, all he diſplays without, is animated by the Word, guided by the Word, worthy of the Word, that is, worthy of reaſon itſelf, of wiſdom itſelf, and of truth itſelf. Therefore all is light in CHRIST JESUS: his conduct is a rule; his miracles are inſtructions; his words are ſpirit, and they are life.

It is not given to all rightly to underſtand theſe ſublime truths, or perfectly to ſee in themſelves that marvellous image of divine things, which Auguſtine and the other fathers have believed ſo certain. The ſenſes have too much the aſcendant; and our imagination, which will mingle in all our thoughts, does not permit us always to dwell upon ſo pure a light. We do not know ourſelves; we are ignorant of the riches we poſſeſs in our nature, and none but the fineſt eyes can perceive them. But the little

we do enter into this ſecret, and do make ſhift to diſcern in ourſelves the image of the two myſteries, which are the foundation of our faith, is ſufficient to raiſe us above all earthly things, and to put us beyond the reach of mortality.

Therefore does JESUS CHRIST call us to an immortal glory, which is the fruit of the faith we have in the myſteries.

That God-man, that incarnate truth and wiſdom, who makes us believe ſo great things upon his ſole authority, promiſes us the clear and beatific viſion of them in eternity, as the certain reward of our faith.

In this way, is the miſſion of JESUS CHRIST infinitely exalted above that of Moſes.

Moſes was ſent to rouſe, by temporal rewards, ſenſual and brutiſh men. As they were become all body and fleſh, it was neceſſary to lay hold of them, at firſt, by the ſenſes; to inculcate by this means a knowlege of God, and an abhorrence of idolatry, to which mankind had ſo prodigious an inclination.

Such was the miniſtry of Moſes: it was reſerved for JESUS CHRIST to inſpire man with higher notions, and to convince him, with the fulleſt evidence, of the dignity, immortality, and eternal felicity of his ſoul.

During the times of ignorance, that is, during the times that preceded JESUS CHRIST, what the ſoul knew of her dignity and immortality, led her generally into error. The worſhip

worſhip of dead perſons was almoſt the whole ground of idolatry: almoſt all men ſacrificed to the *manes*, that is, to the ſouls of the dead. So ancient errors ſhow us indeed how ancient was the belief of the ſoul's immortality; and demonſtrate, that it is to be ranked among the firſt traditions of mankind. But man, who perverted every thing, had ſtrangely abuſed this, when it prompted him to ſacrifice to the dead. Nay, ſome went ſo far as to ſacrifice living men to them: they killed their ſlaves, and even their wives, in order to worſhip them in the other world. This the Gauls practiſed with many other nations; and the Indians, noted by pagan authors among the firſt aſſerters of the immortality of the ſoul, were alſo the firſt that, under pretence of religion, introduced thoſe abominable murders upon earth. The ſame Indians killed themſelves, to haſten the happineſs of the future life; and that deplorable blindneſs continues amongſt thoſe people to this day: ſo dangerous is it to teach the truth in any other order, than that which God has choſen; and to explain clearly to man, what he is, before he has known God perfectly.

Caeſ. de bell. Gall. vi.

It was for want of knowing God, that moſt of the philoſophers could not believe the ſoul immortal, without believing it a portion of the Deity, a deity itſelf, an eternal being, uncreated as well as incorruptible, and having no more beginning than end. What ſhall I ſay of thoſe, who believed the tranſmigration

tranſmigration of ſouls; who made them roam from heaven to earth, and from earth to heaven; from animals into men, and from men into animals; from happineſs to miſery, and from miſery to happineſs; without ſuch revolutions having ever any fixed period, or certain order? How were the divine juſtice, providence, and goodneſs, darkened amid ſo many errors! and how neceſſary was it to know God, and the rules of his wiſdom, previous to the knowlege of the ſoul, and her immortal nature!

For which reaſon the law of Moſes gave man but a firſt notion of the nature of the ſoul, and of her felicity. We have ſeen the ſoul in the beginning made by the power of God, as well as the other creatures; but with this peculiar characteriſtic, that ſhe was made after his own image, and by the breath of his mouth; that ſo ſhe might underſtand of whom ſhe held her exiſtence, and might never think herſelf of the ſame nature with bodies, or formed by the concourſe of them. But the conſequences of this doctrine, and the wonders of the future ſtate were not then univerſally unfolded; and it was in the day of the Meſſiah, that this great light was fully to appear.

God had ſhed ſome ſparks of it in the ancient ſcriptures. Solomon had ſaid, that, as
Eccl. xii. 7. *the duſt ſhall return to the earth as it was, the ſpirit ſhall return to God, who gave it.* The patriarchs and prophets lived in this hope. Daniel had foretold that a time ſhould come, when

when *many of them that ſlept in the duſt of the earth ſhould awake, ſome to everlaſting life, and ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt.* Dan. xii. 2. But at the ſame time, that theſe things are revealed to him, he is commanded to *ſhut up the words, and ſeal the book, even to the* appointed *time of the end*; — 4. in order to let us underſtand, that the full diſcovery of thoſe truths belonged to another ſeaſon, and to another age.

Although then the Jews had in their ſcriptures ſome promiſes of eternal happineſs; and though, towards the times of the Meſſiah, in which it was to be declared, they talked much more about it, as appears by the books of Wiſdom, and the Maccabees; this truth was ſo far from being a general tenet of the ancient people, that the Sadducees, who did not acknowlege it, were not onely admitted into the ſynagogue, but even promoted to the prieſthood. It is one of the characteriſtics of the new people, to lay for the foundation of religion the belief of a future ſtate; and this was to be the fruit of the coming of the Meſſiah.

Wherefore, not contented with telling us, that a life eternally happy was reſerved for the children of God, he has told us in what it conſiſts. And *this is life eternal, to be with him where he is, in the glory of God the Father:* life eternal is *to behold the glory he hath in the boſom of the Father from before the foundation of the world:* John xvii. life eternal is, *that* JESUS CHRIST *be in us,* as in his members; and that the eternal *love,*

love, with which the Father loveth the Son, extending itſelf towards us, may enrich us with the ſame gifts: life eternal, in a word, is *to know the onely true God, and* JESUS CHRIST, *whom he hath ſent*; but to know him after that manner, which is called the clear ſight, *the ſeeing face to face,* and openly; the ſight which reforms and perfects in us the image of God, according to what St. John ſays, *We ſhall be like him: for we ſhall ſee him as he is.*

1 Cor. xiii. 9. 12.

1 John iii. 2.

That ſight ſhall be attended with an immenſe love, *a joy unſpeakable,* and *full of glory.* An eternal *hallelujah,* and an eternal *amen,* with which the heavenly Jeruſalem reſounds, ſpeak all ſorrows done away, and all deſires ſatisfied; nor does ought remain, but to praiſe the divine goodneſs.

1 Pet. i. 8. Rev. vii. 12. xix. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

With ſo new rewards, JESUS CHRIST muſt propoſe alſo new idea's of virtue; a practice more perfect, and more refined. The end of religion, the ſoul of all virtues, and the ſum of the law, is charity. But, until JESUS CHRIST, it may well be ſaid, that the perfection and effects of this virtue were not fully known. It is properly JESUS CHRIST, who teaches us to place our delight in God alone. In order to eſtabliſh the reign of charity, and to diſcloſe all the duties of it, he propoſes to us the love of God, even to the hating of ourſelves, and combating, without reſpit, the principle of corruption, which dwells in all our hearts. He propoſes to us the love of our neighbor, ſo as to extend that beneficent inclination towards

wards all men, not excepting our very perſecutors: he propoſes to us the mortification of ſenſual deſires, even to the cutting off of our own members, that is, whatever has got the ſtrongeſt and moſt intimate hold of our heart: he propoſes to us ſubmiſſion to the will of God, ſo as even to rejoice in the ſufferings he ſends us: he propoſes to us humility, ſo as even to love reproach for the glory of God; and to believe that no indignity can make us ſo vile in the ſight of men, but that we are ſtill viler in the ſight of God through our ſins. Upon this foundation of charity he perfects all eſtates of human life. By this is marriage reduced to its primitive form; conjugal love is no more divided; ſo holy a ſociety knows now no end, but that of life; and children ſee no more their mother put away for a ſtep-mother. Celibacy is ſet forth as an imitation of the life of angels, ſolely intent on God, and the chaſte delights of his love. Superiors learn that they are the ſervants of others, and appointed for their good; inferiors acknowlege the ordinance of God in lawful powers, even when they abuſe their authority: this thought ſoftens the pains of ſubjection, and under the hardeſt maſters obedience is no longer a hardſhip to the Chriſtian.

To theſe precepts he joins counſels of eminent perfection: to renounce all pleaſure; to live in the body as out of the body; to forſake all; to give all to the poor, in order to poſſeſs God onely; to live upon little or nothing,

nothing, and to look for that little from the divine providence.

But the law, moſt peculiar to the Goſpel, is that of bearing the croſs. The croſs is the true teſt of faith, the true foundation of hope, the perfection of charity, in a word, the road to heaven. JESUS CHRIST died upon the croſs; he bore his croſs all his lifetime; it is to the croſs he will have us to follow him, and ſets eternal life at that price. The firſt, to whom he particularly promiſes the reſt of the future ſtate, is a companion of his croſs: *To day*, ſays he, *ſhalt thou be with me in paradiſe*. So ſoon as he was on the croſs, the vail that covered the ſanctuary, was rent from top to bottom, and heaven was opened to the ſouls of ſaints. Upon coming from the croſs, and from the horrors of his paſſion, he appeared to his apoſtles, all glorious, and conqueror of death; that they might underſtand it was by the croſs he was to enter into his glory, and that he ſhowed no other way to his children.

Luke xxiii. 43.

Thus was given to the world, in the perſon of JESUS CHRIST, the image of an accompliſhed virtue, which has nothing, and expects nothing upon earth; which men reward onely by continual perſecutions; which ceaſes not to do them good; and on which its own good offices draw the laſt infliction. JESUS CHRIST dies, without finding either gratitude in thoſe he benefits, fidelity in his friends, or equity in his judges. His innocence, though acknowleged, does not ſave him;

him; his Father himſelf, in whom alone he had placed his hope, withdraws every mark of his protection: the juſt One is delivered up to his enemies, and dies forſaken of God and man.

But it behooved to let the good man ſee, that, in the greateſt extremities, he has no need either of human conſolation, or even of any ſenſible mark of the divine aid: let him but love and truſt, aſſured that God is mindful of him, though he give him no token of it; and that for him is laid up an eternal weight of glory.

The wiſeſt of philoſophers, inveſtigating the idea of virtue, found, that, as of all the wicked, he would be the moſt wicked, who could ſo well cloke his maliciouſneſs, as to paſs for a good man, and by that means enjoy all the credit, which virtue has power to beſtow; ſo the moſt virtuous muſt unqueſtionably be he, upon whom his virtue, by its perfection, draws the envy of all men, inſomuch that he have nothing on his ſide but his conſcience, and ſee himſelf expoſed to all manner of indignities, even to be nailed to the croſs, without his virtues being able to afford him the poor aid of exempting him from ſuch an infliction. Should not one think that God had put this wonderful idea of virtue into the mind of a philoſopher, to exemplify it in the perſon of his Son; and to evince that the righteous has another glory, another reſt, in ſhort,

Socr. apud Plat. Dial. ii. de Rep.

another happineſs, than can be attained on earth?

To eſtabliſh this truth, and ſhow it ſo viſibly accompliſhed in himſelf, at the expence of his own life, was the greateſt work that a man could perform; and ſo great did God hold it, that he reſerved it for the ſo long promiſed Meſſiah, for that man, whom he made the ſame perſon with his onely Son.

Indeed, what greater could be reſerved for a God coming upon earth? and what could he there perform more worthy of him, than to ſet forth virtue in all her purity, and that eternal weal, whither extreme woe conducts her?

But, if we come to conſider what is higher and more deep in the myſtery of the croſs, what human wit ſhall be able to fathom it? There are ſhown us virtues, which the Man-God alone could practiſe. Who elſe could, like him, put himſelf in the ſtead of all the ancient ſacrifices, aboliſh them by ſubſtituting a victim of infinite dignity and merit, and effect that henceforth ſhould be none, but himſelf, to offer unto God? Such is the act of religion, which JESUS CHRIST performs on the croſs. Could the eternal Father have found, among angels or men, an obedience equal to that which his well-beloved Son renders him, when, nought being able to take away his life, he lays it down voluntarily to pleaſe him? What ſhall I ſay of the perfect union of all his deſires with the divine will, and of the love by which

which he keeps himſelf united *to God, who is in him, reconciling the world unto himſelf?* In this incomprehenſible union he compriſes all mankind; he pacifies heaven and earth; he plunges with an immenſe ardor into that ocean of blood, in which he *was to be baptiſed*, with all his followers; and iſſues from his wounds *the fire* of divine love, *which was to kindle the whole earth.* But behold what paſſes all underſtanding! the righteouſneſs fulfilled by this God-man, who ſuffers himſelf to be condemned by the world, that ſo the world may ſtand eternally condemned by the enormous iniquity of that judgement. *Now is the judgement of this world: now ſhall the prince of this world be caſt out*, as JESUS CHRIST himſelf pronounces. Hell, who has ſubdued the world, is about to deſtroy him: by attacking the innocent, ſhe ſhall be obliged to releaſe the guilty, whom ſhe held captive: the woful *hand-writing*, by which we were delivered over to rebel-angels, *is taken out of the way:* JESUS CHRIST *hath nailed it to his croſs*, to be there *blotted out* by his blood: hell, *ſpoiled, groaneth:* the croſs is a place of triumph to our Savior, and the hoſtile powers trembling attend the victor's car. But a greater triumph preſents itſelf to our eyes: divine juſtice is itſelf overcome; the ſinner, its due victim, is reſcued from its hands. He has found a ſurety able to pay an infinite price for him. JESUS CHRIST unites eternally to himſelf the elect, for whom he gives himſelf: they are his members, and

2 Cor. v. 19.

Luke xii. 49, 50.

John xii 31.

Col. ii. 13, 14, 15.

his body: the eternal Father can no more look upon them but in their head: and thus he extends towards them the infinite love, with which he loves his Son. It is his Son himſelf, who requeſts it of him: he cannot be ſeparated from the ſouls he has redeemed:

John xvii. 24, 25, 26. Rev. iii. 21. *Father*, ſays he, *I will that they alſo be with me*; they ſhall be filled with my ſpirit; they ſhall enjoy my glory; they ſhall be partakers with me of my very throne.

For ſuch ineſtimable love, nothing but ſhouts of joy can expreſs our gratitude. "*O*

J. C. Epiſt. ad Dieg. "*miracle!*" cries a great philoſopher and martyr, "*O incomprehenſible exchange! and* "*amazing depth of divine wiſdom!*" one is ſmitten, and all are delivered. God ſmites his innocent Son for the ſake of guilty men, and pardons guilty men for his innocent Son's ſake. "*The Juſt payeth that he doth not ow,* "*and acquitteth ſinners of that they do ow; for* "*what could better cover our ſins than his* "*righteouſneſs? How could the rebellion of* "*ſervants be better expiated, than by the obedi-* "*ence of the Son? The iniquity of many is* "*done away in one righteous, and the righte-* "*ouſneſs of one cauſeth many to be juſtified.*"

Rom. v. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. To what then may we not pretend? *He who loved us, while we were yet ſinners, ſo as even to lay down his life for us, what will he not give us, now that he hath reconciled and juſtified us by his blood?* Every thing is ours through Jesus Christ; grace, holineſs, life, glory, bleſſing: the kingdom of the Son of God is

our inheritance: nothing is above our reach, provided onely we do not debaſe ourſelves.

While JESUS CHRIST crowns our deſires, and exceeds our hopes, he finiſhes the work of God begun under the patriarchs, and in the law of Moſes.

Then God was pleaſed to make himſelf known by ſenſible experiences: he ſhowed himſelf glorious in temporal promiſes; gracious, in loading his children with ſuch good things as are pleaſing to the ſenſes; powerful, in delivering them from the hands of their enemies; faithful, in bringing them into the land promiſed to their fathers; juſt, by the rewards and puniſhments, which he ſent them manifeſtly according to their works.

All theſe wonders prepared the way for the truths, which JESUS CHRIST was coming to teach. If God is ſo gracious, as even to give us what our ſenſes require, how much more ſhall he give us what is requiſite for our mind made after his own image? If he is ſo tender and bountiful towards his children, ſhall he confine his love and bounty to the few years that conſtitute our life? Shall he give, to thoſe he loves, onely a ſhadow of felicity; onely a land fruitful in corn and in oil? Shall there not be a country, where he will abundantly diſpenſe true joys?

There ſhall doutleſs; and JESUS CHRIST comes to ſhow it us. For indeed, the Almighty would have wrought things but little worthy of him, did all his magnificence ter-

minate in the grandeur expoſed to our weak ſenſes. Whatever is not eternal, correſponds neither with the majeſty of an eternal God, nor with the hopes of man, to whom he has made known his eternity; and that unchangeable faithfulneſs, which he keeps to his ſervants, never ſhall have an adequate object, until it be extended to ſomething immortal and permanent. It behooved therefore that at laſt JESUS CHRIST ſhould open to us the heavens, in order to diſcover, to the eyes of our faith, *that continuing city*, where we are, after this life, to be gathered. He ſhows us, that if God takes, for his eternal title, the name of the God of Abraham, of Iſaac, and of Jacob, it is becauſe thoſe holy men are ever living before him. *God is not the God of the dead:* it is not worthy of him to act as men do, merely to accompany his friends to the grave, without leaving them any hope beyond it; and it were a reproach upon him to call himſelf, with ſo much energy, the God of Abraham, had he not founded in heaven an eternal city, where Abraham and his children might live happy.

Heb. xi 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16.

Matth. xxii. 32. Luke xx. 38.

Thus it is, that the truths of the future life are unfolded by JESUS CHRIST. He ſhows them us even in the law. The true promiſed land is the heavenly kingdom. It was after that bleſſed country that Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, panted: Paleſtine deſerved not to bound their wiſhes, or to be the

Heb. vi. 14, 15, 16.

ſole object of the ſo long expectation of our fathers.

The Egypt whence we muſt come out, the wilderneſs through which we muſt paſs, the Babylon whoſe priſons we muſt break, to enter, or return to, our native country, is the world, with its pleaſures and vanities; it is there we are truly captives and wanderers, ſeduced by ſin and its luſts: we muſt ſhake off this yoke to find in Jeruſalem, and in the city of our God, true liberty, and a ſanctuary *not made with hands*, where the glory of the God of Iſrael may to us appear. 2 Cor. v. 1.

By this doctrine of JESUS CHRIST, the ſecret of God is diſcovered to us: the law is all ſpiritual, its promiſes introduce us to thoſe of the goſpel, and ſerve as a foundation to them. One and the ſame light ſhines through the whole: it ariſes under the patriarchs; under Moſes and the prophets it increaſes: JESUS CHRIST, greater than the patriarchs, of more authority than Moſes, more enlightened than all the prophets, diſplays it to us in its fulneſs.

For that Chriſt, for that Man-God, for that man, who holds upon earth, as Auguſtine ſpeaks, the place of truth, and exhibits her perſonally dwelling among us; for him was reſerved to ſhow us all truth, that is, the truth of the myſteries, of the virtues, and of the rewards, which God has prepared for thoſe that love him.

Such was the greatneſs the Jews were to look for in their Meſſiah. There is nothing

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ſo great, as to bear in one's ſelf, and to diſcover to men that whole truth, which nouriſhes them, directs them, and purifies their eyes, even to render them capable of ſeing God.

At the juncture the truth was to be ſhown to men, in ſuch fulneſs, it was alſo appointed to be proclaimed throughout the earth, and to the end of time. God gave Moſes but one people and period; all ages, and all nations are given to JESUS CHRIST: he has his elect over all, and his church, extended as the univerſe, ſhall never ceaſe to bring them forth.

Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. *Go ye therefore*, ſays he, *and teach all nations, baptiſing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; teaching them to obſerve all things, whatſoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*

VII. The deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt: the eſtabliſhment of the church: the judgements of God upon the Jews and Gentiles.

To diffuſe, in all places and ages, ſo exalted truths; and to enforce, in the midſt of corruption, ſo refined a practice; a more than human virtue was requiſite. For which reaſon JESUS CHRIST promiſes to ſend the Holy Spirit to ſtrengthen his apoſtles, and eternally to animate the body of the church.

That power of the Holy Spirit, to declare itſelf the more, was to appear in weakneſs. Luke xxiv. 49. *And behold, I ſend*, ſays JESUS CHRIST to his apoſtles, *the promiſe of my Father*, that is, the Holy Ghoſt, *upon you:* in the mean time *tarry ye in the city of Jeruſalem*; undertake nothing, *until ye be endued with power from on high.*

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In conformity to this order, they remain ſhut up forty days: the Holy Ghoſt deſcends at the time appointed; firy tongues lighting upon CHRIST's diſciples ſpeak the efficacy of their word; preaching begins; the apoſtles bear witneſs to JESUS CHRIST; they are ready to ſuffer any thing for the teſtimony, that they have ſeen him riſen. Miracles attend their words: at two ſermons of Peter, eight thouſand Jews are converted; and, bewailing their error, are waſhed in the blood they have ſhed.

Thus the church is founded in Jeruſalem, and among the Jews, notwithſtanding the incredulity of the bulk of the nation. The diſciples of JESUS CHRIST exhibit to the world a charity, a power, and a meekneſs, with which no ſociety was ever bleſſed before: perſecution ariſes; faith increaſes; the children of God learn more and more to deſire nothing but heaven; the Jews, by their obſtinate wickedneſs, draw the vengeance of God, and haſten the woes that threaten them: their ſtate and affairs decline. While God continues to ſet apart a great number of them, whom he ranks among his elect, Peter is ſent to baptiſe Cornelius the Roman centurion. He learns firſt by a heavenly viſion, and afterwards by experience, that the Gentiles are called to the knowlege of God. JESUS CHRIST, who reſolved their converſion, ſpeaks from on high to *Saul*, who was to be their teacher; and, by a miracle till then unheard-of, from a perſecutor

he makes him not onely a defender, but a zealous preacher of the faith: he diſcovers to him the profound ſecret of the calling of the Gentiles, through the reprobation of the ungrateful Jews, who render themſelves more and more unworthy of the goſpel. *Paul* ſtretches forth his hands to the Gentiles: he treats with a wonderful power theſe important points: *That Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and that he ſhould be the firſt who ſhould riſe from the dead, and ſhould ſhow light unto the people, and to the Gentiles:* he proves the affirmative by Moſes and the prophets, and calls idolaters to the knowlege of God, in the name of JESUS CHRIST riſen. They are converted in multitudes. The apoſtle evinces their call an effect of grace, which no longer reſpects Jew or Gentile. Fury and jealouſy tranſport the Jews: againſt Paul they form terrible combinations, enraged chiefly at his preaching to the Gentiles, and bringing them to the true God: they deliver him over at laſt to the Romans, as they had done JESUS CHRIST. The whole empire is moved againſt the infant church; and Nero, the perſecutor of all mankind, proves the firſt perſecutor of the faithful. That tyrant cauſes Peter and Paul to be put to death. Rome is conſecrated by their blood; and the martyrdom of Peter, chief of the apoſtles, eſtabliſhes, in the capital of the empire, the principal ſeat of religion. Mean-while the time approached, when the divine vengeance was to break forth upon the impenitent Jews:

Acts xxvi. 23.

diſorder

diſorder takes place among them; a falſe zeal blinds them, and renders them odious to all men; their falſe prophets bewitch them with promiſes of an imaginary kingdom: ſeduced by their impoſtures, they can no longer bear any lawful empire, and ſet no bounds to their attempts. God gives them up to a reprobate ſenſe. They revolt againſt the Romans, and are overthrown by them: Titus himſelf, who deſtroys them, is ſenſible that he does but lend his hand 'to God 'provoked againſt them.' Adrian completes their extirpation. They periſh with all the marks of divine vengeance: driven out of their land, and ſlaves all over the world, they have no longer either temple, altar, ſacrifice, or country; neither is any form of people to be ſeen in Judah.

Phil. ſt. Vit. Apol. Tyan. lib. vi. Joſeph. de bell. Jud. lib. vii. 16.

God however had provided for the perpetuity of his worſhip: the Gentiles open their eyes, and unite in ſpirit with the converted Jews. They enter by this means into the ſtock of Abraham; and, become his children by faith, they inherit of the promiſes made him. A new people is formed; and the new ſacrifice, ſo celebrated by the prophets, begins to be offered over the earth.

Thus was punctually fulfilled the ancient oracle of Jacob: Judah is multiplied from the beginning beyond all his brethren; and, having ever preſerved a certain preeminence, receives at laſt the kingdom hereditary. In proceſs of time, the people of God is reduced to his ſingle family; and, confined to his

his tribe, takes his name. In Judah is continued that great nation promiſed to Abraham, to Iſaac, and to Jacob; in him are perpetuated the other promiſes, the worſhip of God, the temple, the ſacrifices, the poſſeſſion of the promiſed land, no longer called any thing but Judea. Notwithſtanding their different ſtates, the Jews remain a regular people and kingdom, ſubject to their own laws. We ſee ſtill raiſed up among them, either kings, or magiſtrates and judges, until the Meſſiah come. He comes, and the kingdom of Judah falls gradually into ruin. It is utterly deſtroyed, and the Jewiſh people is driven without hope from the land of their fathers. The Meſſiah proves the expected of nations, and reigns over a new people.

But, to preſerve the ſucceſſion and perpetuity, this new people muſt be graſted, ſo to ſpeak, upon the former; and, as Paul ſays, Rom. xi. 17. *the wild olive-tree into the true, in order to partake of its root and fatneſs.* So it happened, that the church, eſtabliſhed firſt among the Jews, received at length the Gentiles, in order to make with them one tree, one body, one people, and to render them partakers of her grace and promiſes.

What afterwards befals the unbelieving Jews under Veſpaſian and Titus, no longer reſpects the progreſſion of the people of God. It is onely a chaſtiſing of rebels, who, by their infidelity towards the Seed promiſed to Abraham and David, are no longer Jews, nor ſons of Abraham, but after the fleſh,

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and renounce the promiſe, by which all nations were to be bleſſed.

Thus that laſt and dreadful deſolation of the Jews is no more a tranſportation like that of Babylon; it is not a ſuſpenſion of the government and ſtate of God's people, or of the ſolemn ſervice of religion. The new people, already formed and continued with the old in Chriſt Jeſus, is not carried away; it extends and ſpreds, without interruption, from Jeruſalem, where it was to have its riſe, to the uttermoſt parts of the earth. The Gentiles, incorporated with the Jews, become henceforth the true Jews; and the true kingdom of Judah, as oppoſed to that ſchiſmatic Iſrael cut off from the people of God, the true kingdom of David, by the obedience they pay to the laws and goſpel of JESUS CHRIST the Son of David.

After the eſtabliſhment of this new kingdom, no wonder if every thing goes to wreck in Judea. The ſecond temple was of no farther uſe, after the Meſſiah had accompliſhed in it what was marked out by the prophecies. That temple had had its promiſed glory, when the deſire of nations was come into it. The viſible Jeruſalem had done what remained for her to do, ſince the church had there taken her riſe, and thence was daily extending her branches over the earth. Judea is now nothing to God or to religion, any more than the Jews; and it is but juſt that, in puniſhment of their hardneſs of heart, their ruins be diſperſed over the whole

world. This was to be their fate at the time of the Meſſiah, according to Jacob, Daniel, Zechariah, and all their prophets: but, as they are one day to return to that Meſſiah, whom they have diſowned, and as the God of Abraham has not yet exhauſted his mercies towards the race, though faithleſs, of that patriarch, he has found means, of which another inſtance is not in the world, to preſerve the Jews out of their country; and, in their deſolation, even longer than the nations that have conquered them. Of the ancient Aſſyrians, Medes, Perſians, Greeks, or even Romans, not a remnant is to be ſeen. Every trace of them is loſt, and they are blended in the maſs of mankind. The Jews, who have been the prey of thoſe ancient nations, ſo celebrated in ſtory, have ſurvived them all; and God, by preſerving them, keeps us in expectation of what he will yet do for the wretched remains of a people once ſo highly favored. Meantime, their obſtinacy conduces to the ſalvation of the Gentiles; and affords them the advantage of finding, in unſuſpected hands, the ſcriptures, which have foretold JESUS CHRIST and his myſteries. We ſee, among other things in thoſe ſcriptures, both the blindneſs and misfortunes of the Jews, who ſo carefully preſerve them. Thus are we gainers by their overthrow: their infidelity proves one of the foundations of our faith; they teach us to fear God, and are an everlaſting monument of the judgements he executes upon

Hoſea iii. 4, 5. Iſ. lix. 20. 21. Rom. xi. 11, & fol.

Iſ. iii. 2, 3. Dan. xi. 25. Matt. xxiii. John xii. Acts xxviii. Rom. xi.

upon his ungrateful children, that we may learn not to glory in the graces vouchſafed our fathers.

A myſtery ſo wonderful, and ſo inſtructive to mankind, deſerves to be well conſidered. But we have no need of human diſcourſes, in order to underſtand it: the Holy Ghoſt has taken care to explain it to us by the mouth of Paul; and I beſeech you to attend to what that apoſtle has written to the Romans upon it. Rom. xi. 1, 2, & foll.

After ſpeaking of the ſmall number of Jews, who had received the Goſpel, and of the blindneſs of the reſt, he goes into a deep conſideration of what was to become of a people ſo highly honored, diſcovering to us at once the benefit we reap from their fall, and the fruits which their converſion ſhall one day produce. *Have the Jews ſtumbled*, ſays he, *that they ſhould fall? God forbid: but rather, through their fall, ſalvation is come to the Gentiles; in order to provoke them to* an *emulation*, that ſhould make them return to themſelves. *Now, if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminiſhing of them the riches of the Gentiles*, who have been converted in ſo great numbers, *how much more their fulneſs? Yet, if the caſting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what ſhall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For, if the firſt-fruit be holy, the lump is alſo holy: and if the root be holy, ſo are the branches. But, if ſome of the branches be broken off, and thou*, a Gentile, *being a wild olive-tree, wert graſted* Rom. xi. 11. & foll.

in amongſt them, and with them partakeſt of the root and fatneſs of the olive-tree, boaſt not againſt the branches: for, if thou boaſt, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt ſay then, the branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; becauſe of unbelief they were broken off, and thou ſtandeſt by faith. Be not high minded, but fear. For, if God ſpared not the natural branches, take heed leſt he alſo ſpare not thee.

Who would not tremble at theſe words of the apoſtle? Can we be unalarmed at the vengeance, which has fallen ſo many ages ſo terribly upon the Jews, ſince St. Paul warns us from God, that our ingratitude may draw like judgement on us? But let us hear the ſequel of this great myſtery. The apoſtle continues to ſpeak to the converted Gentiles.

Rom. xi. 22. & foll. *Behold, therefore,* ſays he, *the goodneſs and ſeverity of God: on them who fell, ſeverity; but towards thee, goodneſs, if thou continue in his goodneſs: otherwiſe thou alſo ſhalt be cut off. They alſo, if they abide not ſtill in unbelief, ſhall be grafted in: for God,* who cut them off, *is able to graft them in again. If thou wert cut out of the olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive-tree; how much more ſhall theſe, which are the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive-tree?* Here the apoſtle riſes above all he has been ſaying, and entering the depths of the counſels of God, he thus purſues his diſcourſe. *I would not, brethren, that ye ſhould be ignorant of this myſtery, (leſt ye ſhould be wiſe*

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in your own conceit) that blindneſs in part hath happened to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in. And ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved: as it is written, There ſhall come out of Sion the deliverer, and ſhall turn away ungodlineſs from Jacob. For this is my covenant unto them, when I ſhall take away their ſins. Iſ. lix. 20.

This paſſage of Iſaiah, which St. Paul cites according to the Septuagint, as was his cuſtom, that verſion being then known over all the earth, is yet ſtronger in the original, and taken in its full extent. For the prophet there foretels, firſt of all, the converſion of the Gentiles, by theſe words: *They ſhall fear the name of the Lord from the weſt, and his glory from the riſing of the ſun.* Iſ. lix. 19. Then, under the figure of a flood, Iſaiah ſees afar the perſecutions that ſhall promote the growth of the church. Laſtly, the Holy Spirit informs him what ſhall become of the Jews, and declares to him, that *the Redeemer ſhall come out of Zion, and unto them that turn from tranſgreſſion in Jacob. As for me, this is my covenant with them, ſaith the Lord: my Spirit that is upon thee,* O prophet, *and my words which I have put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed's ſeed, ſaith the Lord, henceforth, and for ever.* Iſ. lix. 20, 21.

He ſhows us therefore clearly, that, after the converſion of the Gentiles, the Redeemer, whom Zion refuſed to know, and whom the children of Jacob rejected, ſhall turn towards them, ſhall blot out their tranſgreſſions, and

reſtore to them the long loſt underſtanding of the prophecies, that it may be handed down ſucceſſively to all after-generations, and be forgot no more.

Thus the Jews ſhall return one day; and they ſhall return, never more to go aſtray: but they ſhall not return till both *the eaſt and the weſt*, that is, the whole world, ſhall have been filled with the fear and knowlege of God.

The Holy Spirit diſcovers to Paul, that that happy return of the Jews ſhall be the effect of the love which God bore to their fathers. Wherefore he finiſhes thus his reaſoning: *As concerning the goſpel*, ſays he,
Rom. xi. 28. which we now preach unto you, *the Jews are enemies for your ſake:* if God hath caſt them out, it was, O Gentiles, in order to call you: *but, as touching the election*, by which they were choſen from the time of the covenant ſworn to Abraham, *they are beloved for the fathers ſake.* For *the gifts and calling of God are without repentance. And, as ye in times paſt have not believed God, yet have obtained mercy through their unbelief*, God having been pleaſed to chooſe you in their ſtead; *even ſo have the Jews alſo now not believed, that through your mercy they alſo may obtain mercy. For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all*, and that all might know the need they have of his grace. *O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdom and knowlege of God! how unſearchable are his judgements, and his ways paſt finding out! For who hath known*

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the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counſellor? Or who hath given to him, and it ſhall be recompenſed unto him? For, of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

This is what St. Paul ſays concerning the election of the Jews, their fall, their return, and the at length converſion of the Gentiles; who are called to fill their place, and to bring them back, at the end of time, to the bleſſing promiſed to their fathers, that is, to the CHRIST, whom they have denied. That great apoſtle ſhows us grace paſſing from one people to another, to keep all nations in fear of loſing it; and manifeſts to us its invincible power, in that, after converting the idolaters, it reſerves, as its laſt work, the conviction of the Jewiſh hardneſs of heart and perfidy.

By this profound counſel of God the Jews ſtill ſubſiſt amid the nations, where they are diſperſed and captive: but they ſubſiſt with the badge of their reprobation; fallen viſibly, through their infidelity, from the promiſes made to their fathers; baniſhed the promiſed land, not even having any land to cultivate; ſlaves wherever they are; without honor, without liberty, without the leaſt form of a people.

Into this ſtate they fell, eight and thirty years after they had crucified JESUS CHRIST, and after ſpending, in the perſecution of his diſciples, the time that had been allowed them to repent. But, while the ancient people

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are caſt out for their unbelief, the new people are daily increaſing among the Gentiles; the covenant formerly made with Abraham, extends, according to the promiſe, to all the nations of the world, who have forgotten God: the Chriſtian church calls all men to her, and, tranquil during many ages, amidſt unheard of perſecutions, ſhe ſhows them, that they are by no means to expect their felicity upon earth.

This, SIR, was the worthieſt fruit of the knowlege of God; and the effect of that great bleſſing, which the world was to expect in JESUS CHRIST. It went on ſpredding daily from family to family, and from people to people: men opened their eyes more and more to a ſight of the blindneſs, into which idolatry had plunged them; and, in ſpite of all the Roman power, the Chriſtians, without attempting revolt, or raiſing diſturbance, and onely by ſuffering all manner of inhumanities, were ſeen to change the face of the world, and extend themſelves over the globe.

The ſuddenneſs, with which this great change was brought about, is a viſible miracle. JESUS CHRIST had foretold, that his Goſpel ſhould ſoon be preached throughout the earth: that wonder was to happen immediately after his death; and he ſaid, that, *when he ſhould be lifted up from the earth*, that is, when he ſhould be nailed to the croſs, *he would draw all men unto him*. His apoſtles had not finiſhed their courſe, when St. Paul told the Romans, *That their faith was proclaimed through*

John viii. 28.

xii. 32.

Rom. i. 8.

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the whole world. He ſaid to the Coloſſians, that the Goſpel was heard *by every creature under heaven; that it was preached, that it brought forth fruit, that it was propagating in all the world.* An allowed tradition informs us, that Thomas carried it to the Indies, and the reſt into other diſtant countries. But we have no need of hiſtory to confirm this truth: the effect itſelf ſpeaks, and we ſufficiently ſee, with how great reaſon St. Paul applies to the apoſtles, that paſſage of the pſalmiſt, *Their ſound is gone out into all lands, and their words unto the ends of the world.* Under their diſciples, ſcarce was any country ſo remote, or ſo unknown, whither the goſpel had not penetrated. A hundred years after JESUS CHRIST, Juſtin reckoned already among the faithful many ſavage nations, and even thoſe vagabond people that roamed about in waggons, without having any fixed abode. It was by no means a vain exaggeration; but a certain and notorious fact, which he advanced in preſence of the emperors, and in the face of the world. Ireneus comes a little after, and then we ſee the number of churches increaſe. Their unity was admirable: what was believed in the Gauls, in the Spains, in Germany, was believed in Egypt, and in the Eaſt; and, "as but "one ſun enlightened the world, the ſame "light of truth ſhone in the church from one "end of the earth to the other."

Col. i. 5, 6. 23.

Greg. Naz. Orat. 25.

Pſ. xix. 4.

Juſt. Ap. 2. & adv. Tryph.

Iren. i. 23.

If we advance but a little, we ſhall be aſtoniſhed at the progreſs we ſee. In the middle

Tertull. adv. Jud. Apolog. 37. Orig. T. 28. in Mat. Hom. 4. in Ezech. Arn. lib. ii.

dle of the third century, Tertullian and Origen ſhow, in the church, whole nations, who, a little before, were not admitted within her pale. Thoſe whom Origen excepted, the moſt remote of the known world, are admitted a little after by Arnobius. What could the world have ſeen, that ſhe ſhould ſurrender ſo readily to JESUS CHRIST? If ſhe ſaw miracles, God had a viſible hand in the work; and if it could be that ſhe had ſeen none, "would it not be a new miracle," greater and more incredible than thoſe which men will not believe, "to have converted "the world without a miracle," to have made ſo many of the ignorant enter ſo high myſteries, to have inſpired ſo many of the learned with an humble ſubmiſſion, "and "to have perſwaded unbelievers of ſo many "incredible things?"

Aug. xxi. de Civ. 7. xxii. 5.

But the miracle of miracles, if I may ſo ſpeak, is, that, with faith in the myſteries, the moſt eminent virtues, and moſt painful practices, ſpred themſelves over the earth. The diſciples of JESUS followed him in the moſt difficult paths. To endure all things for the truth was a uſual exerciſe among his children; and, in order to imitate their Savior, they embraced pains with greater ardor than others did pleaſures. It is impoſſible to enumerate the rich, that became poor to relieve the poor; the poor that preferred poverty to riches; the virgins, that imitated on earth the life of angels; or the charitable paſtors, who made themſelves all things

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to all men, ever ready to beſtow upon their flocks not onely their watchings and labors, but their very lives. What ſhall I ſay of the penitence and mortification? Judges do not exerciſe juſtice more ſeverely on a criminal, than did penitent ſinners on themſelves. Nay more, the innocent puniſhed in themſelves, with an incredible rigor, that prodigious propenſity we have to ſin. The life of John Baptiſt, ſo ſurpriſing to the Jews, became common among the faithful; the deſarts were peopled with his imitators, and ſo many proved the anchorets, that the more perfect of them were obliged to ſeek more profound ſolitudes: ſo much did men fly the world, and ſo great grew the reliſh for the contemplative life.

Such were the precious fruits, which the goſpel was to bring forth. The church is no leſs rich in examples, than in precepts; and the holineſs of her doctrine appeared in its producing an infinite number of ſaints. God, knowing that the ſtrongeſt virtues ſpring amid ſufferings, founded her by martyrdom, and kept her three hundred years in that ſtate, without allowing her a moment's reſpit. After he had given ſo long experience that he ſtood in no need of human help, or of earthly powers, to eſtabliſh his church, he called at length the emperors into her, and made the great Conſtantine a declared protector of Chriſtianity. From that time kings came into the church from every quarter; and all that was written in the prophecies,

phecies, concerning her future glory, has been accompliſhed before the eyes of the whole earth.

But, if ſhe has been invincible againſt all efforts from without, ſhe is no leſs ſo againſt inteſtine diviſions. Thoſe hereſies, ſo much foretold by CHRIST and his apoſtles, came accordingly to paſs; and the faith, perſecuted by the emperors, ſuffered at the ſame time, from the heretics, a more dangerous perſecution. But the latter was never more violent, than when that of the heathens was obſerved to ceaſe. Hell exerted then its utmoſt efforts to deſtroy that church, by her own hand, whom the attacks of her declared enemies had ſerved but to confirm. Scarce has ſhe begun to breath a little, through the peace which Conſtantine afforded her, when Arius, that unhappy prieſt, ſtirs her up greater troubles than ſhe has yet undergone. Conſtantius, the ſon of Conſtantine, ſeduced by the Arians, whoſe tenets he eſpouſes, harraſſes the catholics through the whole earth; a new perſecutor of Chriſtianity, ſo much the more formidable, that, under the name of JESUS CHRIST, he makes war upon JESUS CHRIST himſelf. To crown her misfortunes, the church, thus divided, falls into the hands of Julian the apoſtate, who plays off every engine againſt Chriſtianity; and finds none more effectual, than the factions, with which it is torn. After him comes a Valens, as much attached to the Arians as Conſtantius, but more violent. Other emperors

perors protect other hereſies with like fury. The church learns, by ſo much experience, that ſhe has no leſs to ſuffer under the Chriſtian, than ſhe had under infidel emperors; and that ſhe muſt ſhed of her blood to defend, not onely the whole body of her doctrine, but even every particular article. Nor, indeed, is there one, that ſhe has not ſeen attacked by her own children. A thouſand ſects and hereſies, from her own boſom, ſet themſelves up againſt her. But, if ſhe ſaw them all ariſe according to the predictions of JESUS CHRIST, ſhe ſaw them likewiſe fall according to his promiſes, though often ſupported by emperors and kings. Her true children were known, as St. Paul ſays, by this teſt: the truth gained ſtrength as conteſted, and the church remained unſhaken.

VIII. Particular reflexions on the puniſhment of the Jews, and on the predictions of JESUS CHRIST.

WHILE I labored to ſhow you uninterruptedly the progreſſion of the counſels of God, in the perpetuity of his people, I haſted over many particulars which merit profound reflexion. Allow me, therefore, here to reſume them, that you may not loſe things of ſo great conſequence.

And firſt, SIR, I muſt beg of you to conſider, with a more particular attention, the fall of the Jews, of which every circumſtance bears teſtimony to the goſpel. Thoſe circumſtances are explained to us by infidel authors, by Jews, and by Heathens, who, without perceiving the train of God's counſels, have related the important facts, by which he has been pleaſed to declare it.

We have Joſephus, a Jewiſh author, a moſt faithful hiſtorian, and well acquainted with the affairs of his nation, whoſe antiquities he has illuſtrated by an admirable work. He has written the laſt war, in which ſhe periſhed, having been an eye-witneſs of the whole, and having himſelf ſerved his country in it with a conſiderable command.

The Jews furniſh us alſo with other very ancient authors, whoſe teſtimonies you ſhall ſee. They have ancient commentaries upon the books of ſcripture, and among others the Chaldaic paraphraſes, which they print with their bibles. They have their book, which they name Talmud, that is, doctrine, which they regard no leſs than the ſcripture itſelf. It is a collection of tracts and ſentences of their doctors; and, though the parts of which that great work is compoſed, be not all of equal antiquity, the lateſt authors quoted in it lived in the earlieſt ages of the church. There, amidſt an infinity of impertinent fables, which take their riſe for the moſt part after the time of our Lord, we find ſome beautiful remains of the ancient traditions of the Jewiſh people, and proofs ſufficient for its confutation.

And firſt, it is certain from the confeſſion of the Jews, that the divine vengeance did never more terribly, or more manifeſtly declare itſelf than in their laſt deſolation.

It is a ſtanding tradition, atteſted in their Talmud, and confirmed by all their rabbins, that, forty years before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem,

ruſalem, which comes pretty near to the time of the death of JESUS CHRIST, ſtrange things were continually ſeen in the temple. Daily did there appear new prodigies, inſomuch that a famous rabbin cried out one day: "O temple, temple! what is it that moves "thee, and wherefore doſt thou make thy- "ſelf afraid?" R. Johanam. ſ n of Zacai. Tr. de feſt. expiat.

What is more noted than the dreadful noiſe, which was heard by the prieſts in the ſanctuary on the day of Pentecoſt, and the audible voice which iſſued from the inmoſt part of that ſacred place, *Let us go hence, let us go hence?* The holy angels, guardians of the temple, loudly declared, that they were forſaking it; becauſe God, who had there eſtabliſhed his dwelling ſo many ages, had given it up to reprobation.

Joſephus and Tacitus himſelf have both related this prodigy. It was perceived onely by the prieſts: but another prodigy met the eyes of all the people, nor had any other people ſeen the like. "Four years before the "war was declared, a country-man," ſays Joſephus, "fell a crying, A voice is gone "out from the eaſt, a voice is gone out "from the weſt, a voice is gone out from "the four winds: a voice againſt Jeruſa- "lem and againſt the temple, a voice againſt "bridegrooms and againſt brides, a voice "againſt all the people." From that time he ceaſed neither night nor day, crying, *Woe, woe to Jeruſalem!* He redoubled his cries on the feaſt-days. No other word came out of Joſeph. lib. vi. de bell. Jud. c. xii. Tacit. Hiſt. lib. v. c. 13. Lib. vii de bell. Jud. c. 12.

his mouth: thoſe who pitied him, thoſe who curſed him, thoſe who gave him the neceſſaries of life, could never get aught from him but that terrible ſentence, *Woe to Jeruſalem!* He was ſeized, examined, and condemned by the magiſtrates to be ſcourged: at every queſtion, and every laſh, he anſwered, without once complaining, *Woe to Jeruſalem!* Diſmiſſed as a madman, he ran up and down the whole country, inceſſantly repeating his ſad prediction. Seven years did he cry in this manner without relaxation; yet his voice did not decay. At the time of the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem, he ſhut himſelf up in the city, roaming indefatigably round the walls, and crying with all his might, *Woe to the temple! woe to the city! woe to all the people!* At laſt he added, *Woe to myſelf!* and at the inſtant was carried off by a ſtone from an engine.

Would not one think, SIR, that the divine vengeance had rendered itſelf viſible in this man, who ſubſiſted onely to pronounce its decrees; that it had filled him with its power to make him equal the woes of his people by his cries: and that he was at laſt to periſh by an effect of that vengeance he had ſo long denounced, in order to render it the more ſenſible and ſtriking, when he ſhould be, not onely the prophet and witneſs, but even the victim of it.

This prophet of the woes of Jeruſalem, was called JESUS. It ſeemed that the name of JESUS, a name of ſalvation and peace, was to prove a fatal omen to the Jews, who had

had deſpiſed it in the perſon of our Savior; and that, thoſe miſcreants having rejected a JESUS, who proclaimed to them grace, mercy, and life, God ſent them another JESUS, who had nothing to proclaim to them but irremediable calamities, and the inevitable decree of their approaching ruin.

Let us penetrate a little farther into the judgements of God, under the guidance of his ſcriptures. Jeruſalem and her temple were twice deſtroyed; once by Nebuchadnezzar, a ſecond time by Titus. But in each of thoſe times the juſtice of God declared itſelf by the ſame methods, though more plainly in the latter.

The better to underſtand this order of the counſels of God, lay we down before all things a truth ſo often eſtabliſhed in the ſacred pages; that one of the moſt terrible effects of the divine vengeance is, when, in puniſhment of our paſt ſins, it gives us up to a reprobate ſenſe, ſo that we prove deaf to all wiſe admonitions, blind to the ways of ſalvation that are pointed out to us, ready to believe every thing that tends to undo us, provided onely it flatter us, hardy enough to attempt any thing, without ever meaſuring our ſtrength with that of the enemies we provoke.

Thus periſhed the firſt time Jeruſalem and her weak princes, under the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. Ever beaten by that victorious prince, and finding that they made but vain efforts againſt him, they 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13.

had been obliged to ſwear fidelity to him. The prophet Jeremy declared to them on God's part, that God himſelf had delivered them up to that prince, and that there was no ſafety for them, but in ſubmitting to the yoke. He ſpake to Zedekiah, king of Ju-

Jerem xxvii. 12. 17. dah, ſaying, *Bring your necks under the yoke of the king of Babylon, and ſerve him and his people, and live. Why will ye dy? wherefore ſhould this city be laid waſte?* They gave no credence to his word. While Nebuchadnezzar kept them cloſely blocked up by the prodigious works, with which he had encompaſſed their city; they ſuffered themſelves to be deluded by their falſe prophets, who filled their minds with imaginary victories, and told them in the name of God, albeit he had

Jer. xxviii. 2, 3, 4. not ſent them, *I have broken the yoke of the king of Babylon. Within two full years will I bring again into this place all the veſſels of the Lord's houſe, with all the captives of Judah.*

2 Kings xxv. The people, ſeduced by theſe promiſes, endured hunger and thirſt, and the hardeſt extremities; and held out ſo long through their mad reſolution, that there was no more mercy for them. The city was overthrown, the temple was burned down; all was deſtroyed.

By theſe ſigns the Jews knew that the hand of God was upon them. But, that the divine vengeance might be as manifeſt, in the final deſtruction of Jeruſalem, as it had been in the former, in both appeared the

the ſame ſeduction, the ſame temerity, and the ſame hardneſs of heart.

Although their rebellion had drawn the Roman arms upon them, and though they raſhly ſhook off a yoke under which the whole world had bended, Titus, unwilling to deſtroy them, cauſed ſeveral offers of pardon to be made them, not onely in the beginning of the war, but even when they could no longer eſcape his hands. He had already raiſed about Jeruſalem a wall, with towers and redouts, as ſtrong as the city itſelf, when he ſent to them Joſephus their fellow-citizen, one of their captains, one of their prieſts, who had been taken in that war, defending his country. What did he not ſay to move them? By how many forcible arguments did he invite them to return to their obedience! He ſhowed them heaven and earth combined againſt them, their deſtruction inevitable in reſiſtance, and their ſole ſafety in the clemency of Titus. "Save, "ſaid he, the holy city, ſave yourſelves, "ſave that temple the wonder of the world, "which the Romans reverence, and which "Titus muſt ſorrowing ſee to fall." But how was it poſſible to ſave people ſo ſet upon undoing themſelves? Seduced by their falſe prophets, they harkened not to thoſe ſalutary overtures. They were reduced to extremity; famine killed more than the ſword, and mothers eat their own children. Titus, touched with their woes, took the gods to witneſs, that he was not the cauſe of their deſtruction.

Joſeph. vii. de bell. Jud. iv.

deſtruction. During theſe miſeries, they gave faith to the falſe predictions, which promiſed them the empire of the world. Nay more, when the city was taken, and already on fire in every quarter, thoſe infa-
Joſeph. ibid. 11. tuated people ſtill believed the falſe prophets, who aſſured them, that the day of ſalvation was come, that ſo they might hold out to the laſt, and that there might be no more mercy for them. Accordingly, all were maſſacred; the city was utterly demoliſhed; and, except ſome remains of towers, which Titus left for a monument to poſterity, there remained not one ſtone upon another.

You ſee then the ſame vengeance break forth upon Jeruſalem, that had before appeared under Zedekiah. Titus is no leſs ſent by God, than Nebuchadnezzar; the Jews periſh in the ſame manner. We ſee in Jeruſalem the ſame rebellion, the ſame famine, the ſame extremities, the ſame ways of ſafety open, the ſame ſeduction, the ſame hardneſs of heart, the ſame fatal fall; and, that every circumſtance might exactly tally, the ſecond
Ibid. 9, 10. temple is burned under Titus in the ſame month, and on the ſame day of the month, that the firſt had been under Nebuchadnezzar.

There are however ſome very remarkable differences between the two overthrows of Jeruſalem and the Jews; but all ſerve to ſhow, in the latter, a juſtice more rigorous, and more declared. Nebuchadnezzar cauſed the temple to be ſet on fire: Titus left nothing untried for its preſervation, though his counſellors

counſellors remonſtrated to him, that, ſo long as it ſtood, the Jews, who attached their deſtiny to it, would not ceaſe to rebel. But the fatal day was come, the tenth of Auguſt, which had already ſeen the temple of Solomon burned to the ground. Notwithſtanding the prohibitions of Titus before both Romans and Jews, and notwithſtanding the natural inclination of the ſoldiers, which ſhould have prompted them rather to plunder than conſume ſo much riches, a ſoldier, ſays Joſephus, by *a divine impulſe*, cauſes his companions to hold him up to a window, till he ſets fire to that auguſt temple. Titus flies to the place, and commands in all haſte to extinguiſh the ſpredding flame. It ſeizes the whole in an inſtant, and that ſtupendous ſtructure is reduced to aſhes. Ibid. Ibid.

But, if the obduracy of the Jews under Zedekiah was the moſt terrible effect and ſureſt ſign of the divine vengeance, what ſhall we ſay of the blindneſs ſo apparent in the time of Titus? In the former ruin of Jeruſalem, the Jews were at leaſt well among themſelves; in the latter, Jeruſalem, beſieged by the Romans, was torn by three hoſtile factions. If the hatred they all bore the Romans went even to fury, they were no leſs exaſperated againſt one another: the conflicts without coſt the Jews leſs blood than thoſe within. The moment after ſuſtaining aſſaults from the forain enemy, the citizens recommenced their inteſtine war; violence and robbery reigned throughout the city. Joſeph. lib. vi. vii.

When

When periſhing, when now but one great field covered with coarſes, the heads of the factions diſputed the command in it. Was not this an image of hell, where the damned hate one another no leſs than they hate the devils their common enemies, and where all is pride, confuſion, and rage?

Let us then confeſs, SIR, that the juſtice, which God executed upon the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, was but a ſhadow of that, of which Titus proved the miniſter. What city ever loſt eleven hundred thouſand men in ſeven months time, and that in a ſingle ſiege? So many Jews fell in the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem. They had ſuffered nothing like this from the Chaldeans. Under them their captivity laſted but ſeventy years: above ſeventeen hundred years have they been ſlaves all over the world, nor do they yet find any mitigation of their ſlavery.

We need no longer wonder if Titus, victorious over Jeruſalem, would receive neither the compliments of the neighboring nations, nor the crowns they ſent him in honor of his victory. So many memorable circumſtances, the wrath of God ſo expreſs, and his hand, which he yet beheld ſo preſent, kept him in a profound aſtoniſhment; and it was this made him ſay what you have heard, that he was not the conqueror, but onely a weak inſtrument of the divine vengeance.

He knew not the whole ſecret: the hour was not yet come, when the emperors were to acknowlege JESUS CHRIST. This was the

the time of the humiliation and perſecution of the church. Wherefore Titus, enlightened enough to know that Judea periſhed by a manifeſt effect of the juſtice of God, knew not the crime which God had thought fit to puniſh ſo terribly. It was the moſt capital of all crimes, a crime till then unheard-of, namely Deicide; which therefore gave riſe to a vengeance, of which the world had ſeen no example.

But if we open our eyes a little, and conſider the courſe of things, neither that crime of the Jews, nor its puniſhment, can remain hidden from us.

Let us remember onely what JESUS CHRIST had foretold them. He had foretold the utter ruin of Jeruſalem, and of the temple: *There ſhall not be left*, ſays he, *one ſtone upon another*. He had foretold the manner in which that ungrateful city ſhould be beſieged, and the dreadful circumvallation that was to encompaſs it: he had foretold that terrible famine, which was to devour its inhabitants; nor had he forgot the falſe prophets, by whom they were to be ſeduced. He had warned the Jews, that the time of their calamity was at hand. He had given certain ſigns, which were to mark the preciſe hour of it. He had laid open to them the long ſeries of crimes, which was to draw ſuch puniſhments upon them: in a word, he had ſketched the whole hiſtory of the ſiege and deſolation of Jeruſalem.

Matth. xxiv. 1, 2. Mark. xiii. 1, 2, Luke xxi. 5, 6.

And

And pleaſe, SIR, to obſerve, that he made them all theſe predictions towards the time of his paſſion, that ſo they might the better know the cauſe of all their miſeries. His paſſion drew nigh, when he ſaid to them: *Behold I ſend unto you prophets, and wiſe men, and ſcribes; and ſome of them ye ſhall kill and crucify; and ſome of them ſhall ye ſcourge in your ſynagogues, and perſecute from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood ſhed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, ſon of Barachias, whom ye ſlew between the temple and the altar. Verily I ſay unto you, all theſe things ſhall come upon this generation. O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, thou that killeſt the prophets, and ſtoneſt them that are ſent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings; and ye would not? Behold, your houſe is left unto you deſolate.*

Matth. xxiii. 34, & foll.

Such is the hiſtory of the Jews! they perſecuted their Meſſiah, both in his perſon, and in that of his followers: they ſtirred up the whole world againſt his diſciples, and allowed them no reſt in any city: they armed the Romans and emperors againſt the infant church: they ſtoned Stephen, killed the two Jameſes, whom ſanctity rendered venerable even among them; ſlew Peter and Paul with the ſword, and by the hands of the Gentiles. They muſt periſh. So much blood mingled with that of the prophets, whom they have maſſacred, cries to God for vengeance;

vengeance: *Their houſes and their city ſhall be deſolate:* their deſolation ſhall be adequate to their wickedneſs: JESUS CHRIST forewarns them of it. The time is at hand: *This generation ſhall not paſs till all theſe things be fulfilled:* and again, *This generation ſhall not paſs till all theſe things be done*; that is, the men then living ſhould be witneſſes of them. Matt. xxiv. 34. Mark xiii. 30.

But let us hear the ſeries of our Savior's predictions. As he made his entry into Jeruſalem ſome days before his death, touched with the woes it was to bring upon that devoted city, he wept over it; Ah! ſays he, unhappy city, *if thou hadſt known, even thou, at leaſt in this thy day*, that is yet allowed thee to repent, *the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days ſhall come upon thee, that thine enemies ſhall caſt a trench about thee, and compaſs thee round, and keep thee in on every ſide, and ſhall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee: and they ſhall not leave in thee one ſtone upon another*; *becauſe thou kneweſt not the time of thy viſitation.* Luke xix. 42, & foll.

This was intimating clearly enough both the manner of the ſiege, and the final effects of the vengeance. But JESUS muſt not go to execution without denouncing to Jeruſalem, how dearly ſhe ſhould one day pay for the unworthy treatment ſhe was giving him. As he went to Calvary, bearing his croſs upon his ſhoulders, *there followed him a great company of people, and of women, who alſo bewailed and lamented him. But, Jeſus turning unto them,* Luke xxiii. 27, & foll.

ſaid: Daughters of Jeruſalem, weep not for me; but weep for yourſelves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in which they ſhall ſay, Bleſſed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave ſuck. Then ſhall they begin to ſay to the mountains, fall on us; and to the hills, cover us. For if they do theſe things in a green tree, what ſhall be done in the dry? If the innocent, if the juſt one ſuffer ſo rigorous an infliction, what are the guilty to expect?

Did ever Jeremiah more bitterly lament the deſtruction of the Jews? What ſtronger expreſſions could the Savior employ to prefigure their miſery and deſpair, and that dreadful famine fatal to children, as to mothers, who ſaw their breaſts dried up, who had no longer any thing but tears to give their infants, and who eat the fruit of their womb?

IX. Two more remarkable predictions of our Lord explained, and their accomplishment evinced from hiſtory.

SUCH are the predictions he made to all the people. Thoſe he made in particular to his diſciples, deſerve ſtill greater attention. They are contained in that long and admirable diſcourſe, where he joins the deſtruction of Jeruſalem with that of the world. This connexion is not without myſtery, and its deſign ſeems this.

Jeruſalem, the bleſſed city which the Lord had choſen, ſo long as ſhe continued in the covenant, and in the faith of the promiſes, was a type of the church, and figure of heaven, where God manifeſts himſelf to his children. For this reaſon do we often

ten ſee the prophets join in the train of the ſame diſcourſe, what regards Jeruſalem, with what regards the church and the celeſtial glory. This is one of the ſecrets of the prophecies, and one of the keys which open the meaning of them. But Jeruſalem, reprobate and ungrateful towards her Savior, was to be the image of hell. Her perfidious inhabitants were to repreſent the damned; and the terrible judgement which JESUS CHRIST was to execute upon them, was a type of that, which he ſhall execute upon the whole world, when he will come at the end of time, in his glorious majeſty, to judge the quick and the dead. It is a cuſtom in ſcripture, and one of the means it makes uſe of, to imprint myſteries on the mind, to interweave for our inſtruction the type with the truth. Thus our Lord has interwoven the hiſtory of Jeruſalem deſolate with that of the end of the world, as appears in the diſcourſe of which we are ſpeaking.

Let us not however imagine theſe ſubjects ſo blended, that we cannot diſcern what belongs to either. JESUS CHRIST has diſtinguiſhed them by certain characters, which I could eaſily ſpecify, were there need. But it ſuffices me to make you underſtand what concerns the deſolation of Jeruſalem and the Jews.

When the apoſtles (at the time of the paſſion too) aſſembled about their maſter, were ſhowing him the temple, and the buildings around it; when they were admiring its ſtones, Matt. xxiv. 1. 2. Mark xiii. 1. 2. Luke xxi. 5, 6.

ſtones, its ſtructure, its beauty, its ſolidity; he ſays to them, *ſee ye theſe great buildings! there ſhall not be left one ſtone upon another, that ſhall not be thrown down.* Aſtoniſhed at the ſaying, they aſk him the time when ſo dreadful an event ſhould be? He, who would not have them ſurpriſed in Jeruſalem, when ſacked, (for he choſe that, in the ſack of that city, ſhould be an image of the final ſeparation of the good and the bad) began to relate to them all the calamities, as they were to happen one after another.

Matt. xxiv. 6, 7. Firſt, he denounces *famines and peſtilences, and earthquakes in diverſe places*; and hiſtorians bear teſtimony, that theſe things had never been more frequent, or more remarkable, than they were in thoſe days. He adds, that through the whole world, ſhould be *troubles, wars, and rumors of wars*; *that nation ſhould riſe againſt nation*, and that all the earth ſhould be in a ferment. Could he better repreſent to us the laſt years of Nero, when the whole Roman empire, that is, the whole world, ſo peaceful ſince the victory of Auguſtus, and under the power of the emperors, began to totter; and when the Gauls, the Spains, all the kingdoms, of which the empire was compoſed, ſeemed to riſe at once; when four emperors ſet themſelves up almoſt at the ſame time againſt Nero, and againſt one another; when the Pretorian Cohorts, the armies of Syria, Germany, and all the others that overſpred eaſt and weſt, fell foul upon each other; and traverſed, under the conduct

Mark xiii. 7, 8. Luke xxi. 9, 10, 11.

of

of their emperors, from one end of the world to the other, in order to decide by bloody battles! Theſe are great evils, ſays the Son of God; *but the end ſhall not be yet.* The Jews ſhall ſuffer like the reſt in that general commotion: but ſoon after ſhall come upon them more peculiar calamities, *and theſe ſhall be but the beginning of* their *ſorrows.* Matt. xxiv. 6, 8. Mark xiii. 7, 8. Luke xxi. 9.

He adds, that his church, conſtantly afflicted from her firſt eſtabliſhment, ſhould find perſecution kindle againſt her, more violent than ever, during thoſe times. You have ſeen that Nero, in his latter years, attempted the deſtruction of the Chriſtians, and cauſed St. Peter and St. Paul to be put to death. This perſecution, excited by the jealouſy and violence of the Jews, haſtened their deſtruction, but did not yet fix the time. Matt. xxiv. 9. Mark xiii. 9. Luke xxi. 12.

The coming of falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets ſeemed a nearer ſtep to ruin: for the uſual fate of thoſe, who refuſe an ear to truth, is to be hurried on their deſtruction by deluding prophets. JESUS CHRIST did not conceal from his apoſtles, that this misfortune ſhould befall the Jews. *Many falſe prophets ſhall riſe, and ſhall deceive many.* And again, *Beware of falſe Chriſts and of falſe prophets.* Matt. xxiv. 11. 23. Mark xiii. 22. 23. Luke xxi. 8.

Let it not be ſaid, that this was a thing eaſy to be gueſſed by one who knew the temper of the nation: for, on the contrary, I have ſhown you, that the Jews, ſcandalized at thoſe ſeducers who had ſo often cauſed their ruin, and eſpecially in the time of Ze-

dekiah, had ſo entirely loſt conceit of them, that they would harken to them no more. Upwards of five hundred years paſſed without any falſe prophet's appearing in Iſrael. But hell, who inſpires them, awoke at the coming of JESUS CHRIST; and God, who checks deceiving ſpirits as he pleaſes, now gave them looſe reins, in order to ſend at the ſame time that puniſhment on the Jews, and that trial to his faithful people. Never appeared ſo many falſe prophets, as in the times that ſucceeded the death of our Lord; eſpecially during the Jewiſh war, and under the reign of Nero, who commenced it. Joſephus ſhows us an infinity of thoſe impoſtors, who drew the people to the wilderneſs by vain enchantments and magic arts, promiſing them a ſpeedy and miraculous deliverance. It is alſo for this reaſon that the deſart was ſpecified in the predictions of our Lord, as one of the places that ſhould hide thoſe falſe deliverers, whom you have ſeen in the end draw the people into utter ruin. You may believe that the name of CHRIST, without which was no perfect deliverance for the Jews, was interwoven in thoſe imaginary promiſes; and this you will ſee in the ſequel.

Joſeph. Ant. xx. 6. Bell. Jud. 11, 22.

Matt. xxiv. 26.

Judea was not the onely province expoſed to thoſe deluſions. They were common throughout the empire. There is no time, in which hiſtory exhibits to us a greater number of thoſe impoſtors, who pretend to tell things to come, and deceive the people by their enchantments. A Simon Magus,

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an Elymas, an Apollonius Tyaneus, and a vaſt many other ſorcerers mentioned both in ſacred and profane hiſtory, aroſe during that age, in which hell ſeemed to exert her laſt efforts to ſupport her tottering empire. And therefore it is, that JESUS CHRIST obſerves at this time, eſpecially among the Jews, that prodigious ſwarm of falſe prophets. Whoever ſhall narrowly conſider what he ſays, will ſee, that they were to multiply both before and after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, but chiefly about that time; and that then deluſion, ſtrengthened by falſe miracles and falſe doctrines, ſhould be at once ſo ſubtle and ſo powerful, *as to deceive, if poſſible, the very elect.* Matt. xxiv. 24. Mark xiii. 22.

I do not ſay, that at the end of the world there may not alſo happen ſomething of like nature, and even more dangerous; ſince we have but juſt ſeen, that the tranſactions in Jeruſalem are a manifeſt type of the latter times: but certain it is, that JESUS CHRIST has given us this ſeduction, as one of the ſenſible effects of the wrath of God upon the Jews, and as one of the ſigns of their deſtruction. The event has juſtified his prophecy: every thing is here atteſted by undeniable proofs. We read, in the goſpel, the prediction of their errors: in their hiſtories, and particularly in that of Joſephus, we ſee the accompliſhment of it.

After JESUS CHRIST has foretold theſe things, in his deſign of reſcuing his own from the woes that threatened Jeruſalem, he comes to

to the nearer ſigns of the utter deſolation of that city.

God vouchſafes not always to his elect ſuch tokens. In thoſe terrible chaſtiſements which make his power to be felt by whole nations, he often ſmites the righteous with the guilty: for he has better ways of ſeparating them, than thoſe that are obvious to our ſenſes. The ſame ſtrokes that bruiſe the chaff, ſever the good grain; gold is refined in the ſame fire where chaff is conſumed; and, under the ſame chaſtiſements, by which the wicked are exterminated, the faithful receive new degrees of purity. But, in the deſolation of Jeruſalem, that the image of the laſt judgement might be the more expreſs, and the divine vengeance more ſignal upon the unbelievers, he would not that the Jews, who had received the goſpel, ſhould be confounded with the reſt; and JESUS CHRIST gave his diſciples certain ſigns, by which they might know, when it ſhould be time to get out of that reprobate city. He founded his notices, according to his cuſtom, upon the ancient prophecies, of which he was the interpreter, as well as the end; and reflecting on the paſſage, where the final ruin of Jeruſalem was ſo clearly ſhown to Daniel, he ſaid, *When ye ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation ſpoken of by Daniel the prophet, ſtand in the holy place, (whoſo readeth let him underſtand)* or, as St. Mark has it, *in the place where it ought not; then let them that be in Judea, flee to the mountains.* St. Luke relates the ſame thing

Aug. de Civit. Dei, c. 8.

Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Dan. ix. 26, 27.

thing in other words: *When ye ſhall ſee Jeruſalem compaſſed with armies, then know, that her deſolation is nigh: then let them, who are in Judea, fly to the mountains.* Luke xxi. 20, 21.

One evangeliſt explains another, and, by collating theſe paſſages, it is eaſy to underſtand, that the abomination foretold by Daniel is the ſame thing with the armies encompaſſing Jeruſalem. The fathers have ſo underſtood it, and reaſon convinces us that it is ſo. The word, abomination, in ſacred ſtile, ſignifies idol: and who does not know that the Roman armies bore in their enſigns the images of their gods, and of their Ceſars, more reverenced than they? Theſe enſigns were to the ſoldiers an object of worſhip; and becauſe idols, according to the commands of God, were never to appear in the Holy Land, the Roman enſigns were baniſhed from it. Thence find we, in hiſtory, that ſo long as the Romans retained any degree of regard for the Jews, they never diſplayed their banners in Judea. It was on this account, that Vitellius, when he paſſed through that province, in order to carry the war into Arabia, cauſed his troops to march without enſigns: the Jewiſh religion was ſtill had in reverence, and even the enemies of the Jews would by no means force that people to ſuffer things ſo contrary to their law. But, in the time of the laſt Jewiſh war, we may well believe that the Romans did not ſpare a people, whom they were reſolved to exterminate. Accordingly, when

Orig. Tr. 23. in Mat. Aug. Ep. 80. ad. Heſych.

Joſeph. Ant. xviii. c. 7.

when Jeruſalem was beſieged, it was encompaſſed with as many idols as imperial enſigns; and the abomination never appeared ſo much *where it ought not*, that is, in the Holy Land, and about the temple.

Is this then, will it be ſaid, that great ſign which JESUS CHRIST was to give? Was it time to fly, when Titus beſieged Jeruſalem, and ſo cloſely blocked up its avenues, that there was no more any poſſibility of eſcaping? Here lies the wonder of the prophecy. Jeruſalem was twice beſieged in thoſe days: the firſt time by Ceſtius, governor of Syria, in the 68th year of our Lord; the ſecond, by Titus, four years after, that is, in the year 72. In the laſt ſiege was no way to fly; Titus waged the war too hotly for that: he ſurpriſed the whole nation aſſembled in Jeruſalem at the feaſt of the paſſover, without ſuffering a ſoul to eſcape; and that dreadful line, which he drew round the city, left no more any hope to her inhabitants. But nothing was like this in the ſiege of Ceſtius: he lay encamped fifty furlongs, that is, ſix miles, from Jeruſalem. His army ſpred around, but without making entrenchments; and he conducted the war ſo negligently, that he miſſed the opportunity of taking the city, when terror, ſedition, and even intelligence, opened the gates to him. At this juncture, ſo far was a retreat from being impracticable, that we are expreſsly told, many Jews did retire. It was then therefore they ſhould have gone out; and

Joſeph. ii. de Bell. Jud. c. 23, 24. Id. lib. vi. vii.

Joſeph. lib. ii. c. 23, 24.

Joſeph. ibid.

and this was the ſignal the Son of God gave to his followers. So did he moſt plainly diſtinguiſh the two ſieges: one, where *the city ſhould be ſurrounded with trenches and towers*; then ſhould there be nothing but death for all ſhut up in it: the other, in which it ſhould be onely *compaſſed with armies*, and rather inveſted than beſieged in form; then was it, *they were to flee to the mountains*.

Luke xix. 43.

Luke xxi. 20, 21.

The Chriſtians obeyed their Maſter's voice. Though thouſands were in Jeruſalem and Judea, we learn, neither from Joſephus, nor any other hiſtorian, that one was found in the city when it was taken. On the contrary, it is certain, from eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and all the monuments of our forefathers, that they retired to the little city Pella, in a mountainous country, not far from the wilderneſs, on the confines of Judea and Arabia.

Euſeb. iii. Hiſt. Eccl. 5. Epiph. Haer. vii. Nazar. & lib. de pond. & menſ.

From this we may be ſenſible, how preciſely they had been warned; nor is any thing more remarkable than that ſeparation of the unbelieving Jews from the Jews converted to Chriſtianity: the former having ſtayed in Jeruſalem, there to undergo the puniſhment of their infidelity; and the latter having retreated, as did Lot out of Sodom, into a little city, where they beheld with trembling the effects of the divine vengeance, from which God had been pleaſed to ſhelter them.

Beſides the predictions of Jesus Christ, many were the predictions of his diſciples; among

among others, those of St. Peter and St. Paul. As those two faithful witnesses of CHRIST risen were dragged to execution, they denounced to the Jews, who were delivering them to the Gentiles, their approaching ruin. They told them, "That Jerusalem was about to be utterly destroyed; that they should perish by hunger and despair; that they should be for ever banished the land of their fathers, and sent into captivity throughout the earth; that the time was not far off when all those evils should befall them, for having insulted, with so cruel mockings, the well-beloved Son of God, who had declared himself to them by so many miracles." Pious antiquity has preserved to us this prediction of the apostles, which was to be followed by so speedy an accomplishment. St. Peter had made many others, whether by particular inspiration, or in explaining his Master's words; and Phlegon, a heathen author, whose testimony Origen produces, has recorded, that every thing the apostle had foretold was punctually accomplished.

Lact. div. Hist. lib. iv. c. 21.

Phleg. lib. 13 & 14. Chron. apud Orig. lib. 2. cont. Cels.

Thus nothing befalls the Jews, that has not been prophesied to them. The cause of their calamity is clearly pointed out to us in the mock they made of JESUS CHRIST and his disciples. The time of grace was past, and their destruction was inevitable.

In vain then, SIR, did Titus desire to save Jerusalem and the temple. Their sentence was gone forth from on high: there was not

one

one ſtone to be left upon another. But, if one Roman emperor vainly attempted to prevent the demolition of the temple, ſtill more vainly did another Roman emperor attempt to rebuild it. Julian the apoſtate, having declared war againſt JESUS CHRIST, thought himſelf able to bring to nought his predictions. In the deſign he had to ſtir up on all ſides enemies to the Chriſtians, he ſtooped ſo low as to court the Jews, who were the offſcouring of the earth. He excited them to rebuild their temple; he gave them immenſe ſums, and ſtrengthened their hands with the whole power of the empire. But mark the event, and ſee how God confounds haughty princes. The holy fathers, and eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians relate it with one accord, and juſtify their relation by the monuments, that were ſtill remaining in their time. But it behooved the thing to be atteſted by the heathens themſelves. Ammianus Marcellinus, a Gentile by religion, and a zealous defender of Julian, has related it in theſe terms: "Whilſt Alipius, aſſiſted by the governor of the province, forwarded the work with all his might, terrible globes of fire iſſued from the foundations, which they had firſt rent by violent ſhocks; and the workmen, who often began the work anew, were at different times burned alive: the place became inacceſſible, and the enterpriſe fell to the ground."

Amm Marcel. lib. xxii. ult.

Eccleſiaſtical writers, more exact in repreſenting ſo memorable an event, add fire from heaven to the fire of the earth. But, in ſhort, the word of JESUS CHRIST ſtood faſt. Holy Chryſoſtom cries out, "He "built his church upon a rock: nothing "hath been able to overthrow it. He over- "threw the temple: nothing hath been able "to rebuild it. None can pull down, what "God raiſeth: none can raiſe, what God "pulleth down."

Orat. in Judæos.

Talk we no more of Jeruſalem, or of the temple. Let us caſt our eyes on the people themſelves, formerly the living temple of God, and now the object of his hate. The Jews are more demoliſhed than their temple, or city. The ſpirit of truth is no longer among them: prophecy is extinguiſhed there: the promiſes, on which they reſted their hopes, are vaniſhed away: every thing is overthrown in this people; and *there is not left one ſtone upon another.*

And obſerve to what pitch of error they are delivered up. JESUS CHRIST had ſaid to them: *I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another ſhall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* From that time, the ſpirit of deluſion has reigned ſo powerfully among them, that they are ſtill ready every moment to be carried away by it. It was not enough that the falſe prophets had betrayed Jeruſalem into the hands of Titus: the Jews were not yet baniſhed Judea; and the attachment they had to Jeruſalem induced many

John v. 43.

ny of them to chooſe their abode among her ruins; when a falſe Chriſt ariſes, to complete their deſtruction. Fifty years after Jeruſalem was taken, within the century of the death of our Lord, the infamous Barchochebas, a robber, a miſcreant, becauſe his name ſignified the ſon of a ſtar, called himſelf the Star of Jacob, foretold in the book of Numbers, and gave himſelf out for the Chriſt. Akibas, the moſt noted of all the Rabbins, and after his example, all thoſe, whom the Jews called their wiſe-men, entered into his party, without the impoſtor's giving them any other token of his miſſion, than that Akibas ſaid the Chriſt could not now be far off. The Jews revolted, through the whole Roman empire, under the conduct of Barchochebas, who promiſed them the empire of the world. Adrian killed ſix hundred thouſand of them: the yoke of the remnant grew heavier, and they were baniſhed Judea for ever.

Numb. xxiv. 17. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. iv. 6. 8. Talm. Hier. de jejun. & in vet. Com. ſup. Lam. Jerem. Maimonid. ib. de [illegible] reg. c. 11.

Who does not ſee that the deluding ſpirit had got poſſeſſion of their hearts? *They received not the love of truth, that they might be ſaved. And for this cauſe God ſent them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould believe a ly.* There is no impoſture ſo groſs, as not to ſeduce them. In our days, an impoſtor called himſelf the Chriſt, in the eaſt: all the Jews began to flock about him: we have ſeen them in Italy, in Holland, in Germany, and at Metz, preparing to ſell and leave all to follow him. They fancied themſelves about to become maſters of the world, when lo! they under-

2 Theſſ. ii. 10, 11.

ſtood that their Chriſt had turned Turk, and forſaken the law of Moſes.

We need not be aſtoniſhed, that they have fallen into ſuch wanderings; or that the ſtorm ſcattered them, after they quitted their courſe. That courſe was marked out to them in their prophecies; particularly in thoſe, which ſpecified the time of the CHRIST. They let paſs thoſe precious moments unimproved: wherefore we ſee them afterwards given up to a ly, and they no longer know which way to ſteer.

X. The ſeries of the Jews errors, and the way they explain the prophecies.

ALLOW me yet a moment to retrace to you the ſeries of their errors, and all the ſteps they have taken to ſink themſelves in the abyſs. The paths, by which men wander, join always to the high road; and, by conſidering where the ſtray began, they walk more ſurely in the right way.

We have ſeen, SIR, that two prophecies pointed out the time of CHRIST to the Jews; that of Jacob, and that of Daniel. They both fixed the downfall of the kingdom of Judah at the time the CHRIST ſhould come. But Daniel unfolded that the total deſtruction of that kingdom was to be a conſequence of the death of CHRIST: and Jacob told plainly, that, in the decline of the kingdom of Judah, the CHRIST, who then ſhould come ſhould be *the expectation of the people*; that is, that he ſhould be their deliverer, and ſhould make to himſelf a new kingdom, not of one nation onely, but of all the nations of the world. The words of the prophecy

prophecy can have no other meaning, and it was the undouted tradition of the Jews, that they were thus to be underſtood. Gem. Sanhed. c. ii.

Hence that opinion among the ancient Rabbins, and ſtill to be ſeen in their Talmud, that, at the time the CHRIST ſhould come, there ſhould be no more magiſtracy: ſo that nothing was more important towards aſcertaining the time of their Meſſiah, than to obſerve, when they ſhould fall into that unhappy ſtate.

Indeed, they had begun well; and had they not been prepoſſeſſed with the worldly grandeur, which they wanted to find in the Meſſiah, in order to ſhare it under his empire, they could not have miſtaken JESUS CHRIST. The foundation, they had laid, was certain: for as ſoon as the tyranny of the firſt Herod, and the alteration of the Jewiſh commonwealth, which happened in his time, had pointed out to them the moment of the decay marked in the prophecy, they made no dout but the CHRIST was coming, and that they ſhould ſee the new kingdom in which all nations were to be united. Talm. Hieroſol. Tr. Sanhed.

One thing they obſerved; that the power of life and death was taken from them. This was a great change; as, till then, they had preſerved it, to whatever dominion they were ſubject; and even in Babylon during their captivity. The hiſtory of Suſanna makes it ſufficiently evident, and it was a ſtanding tradition among them. The kings of Perſia, who reſtored them, allowed them that power by an expreſs decree, of which we Ez. vii. 25, 26.

have taken notice in its place: we have alſo ſeen, that the firſt Seleucians rather augmented than reſtrained their privileges. I need not here again mention the reign of the Maccabees, where they were not onely made free, but powerful and formidable. Pompey, who weakened them in the manner we ſaw, contented with the tribute he impoſed on them, and putting them at the Roman people's diſpoſal, left them their prince with full juriſdiction. It is well known, that the Romans dealt thus, nor meddled with the internal government of the countries, to which they left their natural ſoverains.

In ſhort, the Jews agree, that they loſt that power of life and death, onely forty years before the deſolation of the ſecond temple: nor can it be douted, but that it was the firſt Herod, who began to give this wound to their liberty. For ſince, to revenge himſelf on the Sanhedrim, where he had been obliged perſonally to appear before he was king; and afterwards, to engroſs the authority, he had attacked that aſſembly, which was, in a manner, the ſenate founded by Moſes, and the perpetual council of the nation, where the ſupreme juriſdiction was exerciſed; by degrees that great body loſt its power, and had very little of it remaining, when JESUS CHRIST came into the world. Things grew worſe under Herod's children, when the kingdom of Archelaus, of which Jeruſalem was the capital, being reduced into a Roman province, was governed by prefects, whom the

Joſeph. Ant xiv. 17.

the emperors ſent thither. In this unhappy ſtate, the Jews ſo little claimed the power of life and death, that, in order to put to death JESUS CHRIST, whom they wanted at any rate to deſtroy, they were fain to have recourſe to Pilate; and that weak governor having told them, that they might judge him themſelves, they anſwered, with one voice, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* And ſo it was, by the hands of Herod, that they ſlew James the brother of John, and put Peter in priſon. When they had reſolved the death of Paul, they delivered him into the hands of the Romans, as they had done JESUS CHRIST; and the ſacrilegious vow of their enthuſiaſts, who ſwore neither to eat nor drink until they had killed that holy apoſtle, ſufficiently evinces, that they thought themſelves faln from the power of putting him to death judicially. But, if they ſtoned Stephen, it was tumultuouſly, and through an effect of thoſe ſeditious tranſports, which the Romans could not always reſtrain, in thoſe, who then ſtiled themſelves the Zealots. It is therefore to be held certain, as well from thoſe hiſtories, as from the conſent of the Jews, and the ſtate of their affairs, that, towards the times of our Lord, and eſpecially thoſe in which he began to exerciſe his miniſtry, they entirely loſt all temporal authority. They could not behold that loſs, without calling to mind the ancient oracle of Jacob, which foretold them, that, againſt the time

John xviii. 31.

Acts xii. 1, 2, 3. xxiii. xxiv.

Acts vii. 57, 58.

time of the Meſſiah, there ſhould be no more among them either power, authority, or judicature. One of their moſt ancient authors remarks it; and he has reaſon to own, that the ſcepter was no more in Judah, nor the authority in the princes of the people; ſince the public power was taken from them, and, the Sanhedrim being degraded, the members of that venerable body were no longer conſidered as judges, but onely as private doctors. Thus, according to their own account, it was time that the CHRIST ſhould come. As they ſaw this certain ſign of the approach of that new king, whoſe dominion was to extend over all people, they believed that indeed he was about to appear. The rumor ſpred, and the whole Eaſt was perſwaded that out of Judea ſhould come the rulers of the world.

Tract. voc. magna Gen. ſeu Comm. in Gen.

Tacitus and Suetonius give this rumor as raiſed upon a ſtanding opinion, and an ancient oracle, found in the ſacred books of the Jewiſh people. Joſephus recites the prophecy in the ſame terms, and ſays, like them, that it was to be found in the holy books. The authority of thoſe books, of which the predictions had been ſo viſibly accompliſhed on ſo many occaſions, was great in all the Eaſt: and the Jews more attentive than others to conjunctures, which were chiefly marked for their inſtruction, acknowleged the time of the Meſſiah, which Jacob had fixed in their fall. Thus the reflexions they made on their ſtate were juſt; and ſo far were

Suet. Veſpaſ. Tac. lib. V. hiſt. c. 13. Joſeph. de bell. Jud. vii. 12. Hegeſip. de Exod. Jer. v. 14.

were they from miſtaking the time of the CHRIST, that they knew he was to come when he did. But, O the weakneſs of the human mind! O vanity, infallible ſource of blindneſs! The humility of the Savior hid, from thoſe proud ſpirits, the true greatneſs they were to look for in their Meſſiah. They wanted to have him a king like the kings of the earth. Wherefore the flatterers of the firſt Herod, dazzled with the grandeur and magnificence of that prince, who, tyrant as he was, did nevertheleſs enrich Judea, ſaid he was himſelf that ſo long promiſed king. This it was that gave riſe to the ſect of the Herodians, ſo often mentioned in the goſpel, and whom the heathens knew, as Perſius and his ſcholiaſt inform us, that even in Nero's time, the birth of king Herod was celebrated by his followers with the ſame ſolemnity as the Sabbath. Joſephus fell into a like error. This author, "inſtructed, as he ſays himſelf, in the Jewiſh prophecies, being a "prieſt, and of prieſtly race," acknowleged indeed that the coming of the king promiſed by Jacob agreed with Herod's time, in which he is at ſo much pains to ſhow a manifeſt beginning of the downfall of the Jews: but, as he ſaw nothing in his nation, that fulfilled the ambitious idea's it had conceived of its CHRIST, he drove the time of the prophecy a little farther down, and, applying it to Veſpaſian, affirmed, that "that oracle of ſcrip-"ture ſignified that prince declared emperor "in Judea."

Epiph. lib. 1. Hær. 20. Herodiaa.

Matt. xxii. 16. Mark iii. 6. xii. 13. Perſ. et vet. Schol. Sat. v. 11. 180.

Joſeph. de bell Jud. iii. 14.

Lib. iii. de bell. Jud. 14. vii. 12.

Thus

Thus did he wreſt holy ſcripture to countenance his blind flattery, which transferred to ſtrangers the hope of Jacob and Judah; which ſought in Veſpaſian the ſon of Abraham and David; and aſcribed to an idolatrous prince the title of him, whoſe light was to guide the Gentiles from idolatry.

The juncture favored him: but, while he aſcribed to Veſpaſian, what Jacob had ſaid of the CHRIST, the zealots that defended Jeruſalem, arrogated it to themſelves. It was on this onely foundation, that they promiſed themſelves the empire of the world, as Joſephus relates; more reaſonable however than he, in that they did not at leaſt go out of the nation, to find the accompliſhment of the promiſes made to their fathers.

Joſeph. de bell. Jud. lib. vii.

How did they not open their eyes on the rich fruit, which was from that time brought forth among the Gentiles by the preaching of the goſpel; and on that new empire, where piety reigned, where the true God triumphed over idolatry, where eternal life was proclaimed to unbelieving nations? And was not the empire of the Ceſars itſelf a vain pomp in compariſon of it? But this empire was not ſhowy enough in the eyes of the world.

How thoroughly muſt the mind be emptied of human grandeur, in order to know JESUS CHRIST! The Jews knew the time: the Jews ſaw nations called to the God of Abraham according to the oracle of Jacob, by JESUS CHRIST and his diſciples; and yet they

they miſtook that JESUS, who was declared to them by ſo many tokens. Though both in his lifetime, and after his death, he confirmed his miſſion by ſo many miracles, thoſe ſtubborn people rejected him, becauſe he had nothing but ſolid greatneſs, void of all pageantry that ſtrikes the ſenſes, and came rather to condemn than to crown their blind ambition.

And yet, forced by the juncture and circumſtances of the time, in ſpite of their blindneſs, they ſeemed ſometimes to ſhake off their prepoſſeſſion. Every thing was ſo diſpoſed at the time of our Lord's coming, for the manifeſtation of the Meſſiah, that they ſuſpected John Baptiſt might be he. His auſtere, extraordinary, aſtoniſhing way of life, ſtruck them: and, in default of worldly grandeur, they ſeemed willing at firſt to content themſelves with the eminence of ſo marvellous a character. The ſimple and ordinary life of JESUS CHRIST, ſhocked thoſe equally groſs and proud ſpirits, who could be caught onely by the ſenſes, and who beſides were ſo far from a ſincere converſion, that they would admire nothing but what they looked upon as inimitable. In this manner John Baptiſt, judged worthy to be the CHRIST, was not believed when he pointed out the true CHRIST; and JESUS CHRIST, who was to be imitated when believed in, appeared too humble to the Jews to be followed.

Luke iii. 15. John i. 19, 20.

However, the impreſſion they had received, that the CHRIST was to appear at this time,

time, was ſo ſtrong, that it remained almoſt a century. They thought that the accompliſhment of the prophecies might have a certain extent, and was not always confined to one preciſe point; inſomuch that, near a hundred years, nothing was talked of among them but falſe Chriſts, who got themſelves followed; and falſe prophets, who proclaimed them. Former ages had ſeen nothing like this; nor did the Jews offer to proſtitute the name of CHRIST, either when Judas Maccabeus gained ſo many victories over their tyrant, or when his brother Simon freed them from the yoke of the Gentiles, or when the firſt Hyrcanus made ſo many conqueſts. The times and other marks did not agree; nor was there, till the age of JESUS CHRIST, the leaſt talk of all thoſe Meſſiahs. The Samaritans, who red in the Pentateuch the prophecy of Jacob, made Chriſts to themſelves, as well as the Jews; and, a little after JESUS CHRIST, they acknowleged their Doſitheus. Simon Magus, of the ſame country, boaſted alſo that he was the Son of God; and Menander, his diſciple, ſtiled himſelf the Savior of the world. Even in CHRIST's life-time, the Samaritan woman had believed that the Meſſiah *was about to come:* ſo ſettled was the opinion in the nation, and among all who red the ancient oracle of Jacob, that the CHRIST was to appear at that juncture.

Orig. Tract. 27. in Matth. tom. 14. cont. Cel. Iren. i. 20. 21. ἐρχόμενος. John iv. 25.

When the time was ſo paſt, that there was no longer aught to expect, and the Jews had found

found, by experience, that all the Meſſiahs they had followed, far from delivering them out of their calamities, had onely ſunk them deeper in them; a long interval took place without any new Meſſiahs appearing among them, and Barchochebas was the laſt whom they acknowleged as ſuch in thoſe firſt ages of Chriſtianity. But the old impreſſion could not be utterly eraſed. Inſtead of believing that CHRIST had appeared, as they had done even in Adrian's time; under the Antonines his ſucceſſors, they took it into their heads to ſay, that their Meſſiah was in the world, though he did not yet make his appearance, becauſe he waited for the prophet Elias, who was to come and anoint him. Such language was common in the time of holy Juſtin; and we find in their Talmud the doctrine of one of their moſt ancient maſters, who ſaid, "that the CHRIST was "come, as pointed in the prophecies, but "that he kept himſelf concealed ſomewhere "at Rome among the poor mendicants."

Juſtin. adv. Tryphon. R. Judafilius Levi. Gem. San. xi.

So wild a conceit could not take; and the Jews, forced at laſt to confeſs that the Meſſiah was not come at the time they had reaſon to expect him according to their ancient prophecies, fell into another abyſs. They were within a little of renouncing the hope of their Meſſiah, who had not kept his time; and many followed a famous rabbi, whoſe words are ſtill treaſured in the Talmud. This man ſeing the term ſo far paſſed, concluded that "the Iſraelites had no more any Meſ-

R. Hillel. ibid. Iſ. Abran. de cap. fidei.

"siah to expect, because he had been given "them in the person of king Hezekiah."

Indeed, this opinion, far from prevailing among the Jews, was detested by them. But, as they no longer know any thing about the times signified in their prophecies, and are at a loss how to get out of the labyrinth, they have made an article of faith of that expression, which we read in the Talmud, "All the terms appointed for the coming of the Messiah, are past;" and have pronounced with one consent, "Cursed be "they who shall compute the times of the "Messiah:" as we behold, in a storm, that has driven the ship from her course, the pilot, in despair, quit his reckoning, and go whither chance carries him.

Gem. San. c. x. Moses Maimon. in Epit. Talm. Is. Abran. de cap. fidei.

From that time, their whole study has been to elude the prophecies, in which the time of the CHRIST was pointed out: they did not care if they overthrew all the traditions of their fathers, provided they could deprive the Christians of those admirable prophecies; nay, they have gone so far as to affirm, that that of Jacob did not relate to the CHRIST.

But their own ancient books give them the ly. That prophecy is understood of the Messiah in the Talmud; and the manner, in which we explain it, is to be found in their paraphrases, that is, in the most authentic and most reverenced commentaries among them.

Gem. Tr. Sanhed. c. xi. Paraph Onkelos Johanan. & Hierosol. v. Polyg. Aug.

We

We find there, in expreſs terms, that the houſe and kingdom of Judah, to which the whole poſterity of Jacob, and people of Iſrael, were to be one day reduced, ſhould always produce "judges and magiſtrates," until the coming of the Meſſiah, under whom ſhould be formed a kingdom of all nations.

This was the teſtimony, which the moſt celebrated and moſt approved doctors of the Jews ſtill bore them in the earlieſt ages of Chriſtianity. The ancient tradition, ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, could not be aboliſhed at once; and, though the Jews did not apply to JESUS CHRIST the prophecy of Jacob, they had not yet dared to deny that it agreed to the Meſſiah. They came not to that extravagance till long after, and when, hard preſſed by the Chriſtians, they at laſt perceived that their own tradition was againſt them.

As for the prophecy of Daniel, where the coming of the Chriſt was limited to the term of 490 years, to count from the twentieth of Artaxerxes Longimanus; that term carried to the end of the fourth millenary of the world: ſo was it a very ancient tradition among the Jews, that the Meſſiah ſhould appear towards the end of that millenary, and about two thouſand years after Abraham. An Elias, whoſe name is great among the Jews, though he be not the prophet, had thus taught before the birth of JESUS CHRIST; and the tradition has been preſerved in the book of the Talmud. You have ſeen this term accompliſhed at the coming of our Lord,

Gem. Tr. San. c. xi.

Lord, ſince he actually appeared about two thouſand years after Abraham, and towards the 4000th year of the world. However, the Jews knew him not; and, diſappointed of their expectation, they ſaid, that their ſins had retarded the Meſſiah, who was to come. But yet our dates are aſcertained by their own confeſſion; and it is a ſtrange degree of blindneſs, to make a term depend on men, which God has ſo preciſely fixed in Daniel.

Not a little are they embarraſſed alſo, to find that the prophet makes the time of CHRIST go before that of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; inſomuch that, the latter being accompliſhed, that which precedes it muſt be ſo.

Antiq. x. c. ult. de bell. Jud. vii. 4.

Joſephus has groſsly erred here. He rightly computed the weeks, which were to be followed by the deſolation of the Jewiſh people; and, finding them fulfilled at the time Titus laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, he made no dout but the moment of the city's downfall was come. But he did not conſider that this deſolation was to be preceded by the coming of the Chriſt, and by his death; ſo that he underſtood but one half of the prophecy.

The Jews, who came after him, were willing to ſupply this defect. They have derived to us from Herod an Agrippa, whom the Romans, they ſay, put to death a little before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; and they will have this Agrippa, Chriſt by his title of king, to be the Meſſiah promiſed by Daniel; a freſh proof of their blindneſs! For, beſides

that

that this Agrippa can neither be the righteous, nor the holy One, nor the end of the prophecies, as the Chriſt, marked by Daniel, muſt be; beſides that the murder of that Agrippa, in which the Jews had no hand, could not be the cauſe of their deſolation, as the death of Daniel's Chriſt was to be; what the Jews ſay on this head is all a fable. That Agrippa, deſcended of Herod, was ever on the ſide of the Romans: he was always well treated by their emperors, and reigned in a canton of Judea long after the taking of Jeruſalem, as Joſephus and other contemporaries atteſt.

Joſeph. lib. vii. de bell. Jud. Juſtus Tiber. Biblioth. Phot. cod. 33.

Thus all that the Jews deviſe to elude the prophecies, ſerves onely to confute them. Themſelves do not rely upon fictions ſo groſs, and their beſt defence conſiſts in the law they enacted, to compute no more the days of the Meſſiah. Thus do they willingly ſhut their eyes to the truth, and renounce the prophecies, where the Holy Ghoſt has itſelf numbered the years: but renouncing they fulfil them, and demonſtrate the truth of what thoſe oracles ſay of their blindneſs and fall.

Let them anſwer what they will to the prophecies; the deſolation theſe foretold, befel them at the time appointed: the event is of more force than all their ſuttleties: and, if the Chriſt did not come in that fatal juncture, the prophets, in whom they truſt, have deceived them.

To complete their conviction, obſerve two circumſtances, that attended their fall,

and the coming of the Savior of the world: one, that the ſucceſſion of prieſts, uninterrupted and unalterable from Aaron, came then to an end; the other, that the diſtinction of tribes and families, ever preſerved till that time, was then loſt, by their own confeſſion.

This diſtinction was neceſſary till the time of the Meſſiah. From Levi were to ſpring the miniſters in ſacred things. From Aaron were to iſſue the prieſts and high-prieſts. From Judah was to come the Meſſiah himſelf. Had not the diſtinction of families ſubſiſted till the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and coming of CHRIST, the Jewiſh ſacrifices would have periſhed before the time, and David would have loſt the glory of being acknowleged father of the Meſſiah. Is the Meſſiah come? Is the new prieſthood, after the order of Melchizedek, commenced in his perſon; and has the new kingdom, which was not of this world, appeared? We want no more Aaron or Levi, Judah or David, or their families. Aaron is no longer neceſſary in a time, when ſacrifices were to ceaſe, according to Daniel. Dan. ix. 27. The houſe of David and Judah has fulfilled her deſtiny, when the CHRIST of God has proceeded from her; and, as if the Jews themſelves renounced their hope, they forget preciſely at this time the ſucceſſion of families, till now ſo carefully and religiouſly retained.

Let us not omit one of the marks of the coming of the Meſſiah, and perhaps the principal,

cipal, if we rightly underſtand it, though it conſtitutes the ſcandal and horror of the Jews. It is the remiſſion of ſins announced in the name of a ſuffering Savior, of a Savior humbled, and obedient even unto death. Daniel had ſpecified among his weeks, the myſterious week, which we have obſerved, when the CHRIST was to be offered up, when the ancient ſacrifices were to loſe their efficacy. Put we Daniel and Iſaiah together, and we ſhall come to the very bottom of ſo great a myſtery; we ſhall ſee *the man of ſorrows, with the iniquity of all the people laid upon him, pouring out his ſoul unto death for their tranſgreſſions, and by his ſtripes healing them.* Open your eyes, ye unbelievers! is it not true that the remiſſion of ſins has been preached to you in the name of CHRIST crucified? Was ever ſuch a myſtery dreamed of? What other than JESUS CHRIST, either before or after him, has gloried in waſhing away our ſins by his blood? Can he have cauſed himſelf to be crucified, merely to acquire a vain honor, and accompliſh in himſelf ſo fatal a prophecy? Ye muſt be ſilent, and adore in the goſpel a doctrine, which could not even enter the heart of man, if it were not true.

Dan. ix. 26.

Iſ. liii.

The Jews are extremely puzzled in this point: they find in their ſcriptures too many paſſages, where mention is made of the humiliations of their Meſſiah. What ſhall become then of thoſe, which ſpeak of his glory and triumphs? The natural interpretation is, that

Tr. Succa & Com. five Paraph. ſup. Cant. 6, 7. v. 3.

that he ſhall by conflicts come to triumphs, and by ſufferings to glory. But, O incredible! the Jews have rather choſen two Meſſiahs. We find in their Talmud, and other books of like antiquity, that they expect a ſuffering Meſſiah, and a Meſſiah full of glory: one dead and riſen; the other ever happy and victorious: one, to whom agree all the paſſages where weakneſs is intimated; the other, to whom allude all thoſe that promiſe greatneſs: one, in fine, the ſon of Joſeph, for they have not been able to deny him this character of JESUS CHRIST, who was the reputed ſon of Joſeph; and another the ſon of David; without ever caring to know that this Meſſiah the ſon of David was,

Pſ. cx. 7. according to David, *to drink of the brook in the way, before he ſhould lift up his head*; that is, to be afflicted, before he were triumphant;

Luke xxiv. 25, 26. as ſays the ſon of David himſelf: *O fools, and ſlow of heart to believe all that the prophets have ſpoken! Ought not Chriſt to have ſuffered theſe things, and to enter into his glory?*

Moreover, if we underſtand, of the Meſſiah, that great paſſage where Iſaiah repreſents to us in ſo lively a manner,

Iſ. liii. *the man of ſorrows ſmitten for our tranſgreſſion and of no form or comelineſs, that we ſhould deſire him*; we are ſupported in this interpretation, as well as in all the reſt, by the ancient tradition of the Jews: and, in ſpite of their prejudices, the chapter, ſo often cited in their Talmud, teaches us, that that perſon

Gem. Tr. Sanhed. lib. xi. *of no form or comelineſs, with the tranſgreſſions of the people*

people laid upon him, ſhall be the Meſſiah. The ſorrows of the Meſſiah, which ſhall be occaſioned by our ſins, are noted in the ſame place, and in the other books of the Jews. Frequent is the mention of the entry, equally humble and glorious, that he was to make into Jeruſalem, riding on an aſs; and that celebrated prophecy of Zechariah is applied to him. What reaſon have the Jews to complain? Every thing was marked to them in preciſe terms by their prophets: their ancient tradition had preſerved the natural expoſition of thoſe famous prophecies; nor is any thing more juſt than that reproach, caſt upon them by the Savior of the world: *Ye hypocrites, ye can diſcern the face of the ſky, and tell whether it ſhall be fair or foul weather; but how is it that ye do not diſcern this time?* Matt. xvi. 2, 3. Luke xii. 56.

Conclude we then, that the Jews have had good reaſon to ſay, that "all the terms "of the Meſſiah's coming are paſt." Judah is no more a kingdom, or a people; other nations have confeſſed the Meſſiah, who was to be ſent. JESUS CHRIST has been ſhown to the Gentiles: at the ſign they haſted to the God of Abraham, and the bleſſing of that patriarch diffuſed itſelf over the earth. The man of ſorrows has been preached, and the remiſſion of ſins proclaimed by his death. All the weeks have elapſed; the deſolation of the people, and of the ſanctuary, a juſt puniſhment of the death of CHRIST, has had its final accompliſhment; in ſhort, the CHRIST has appeared with all the characters that

that the tradition of the Jews confeſſed in him, and their incredulity remains without excuſe.

So ſee we, from that time, undouted marks of their reprobation. After JESUS CHRIST, they did but plunge more and more into ignorance and miſery, whence the extremity alone of their woes, and the ſhame of proving ſo often a prey to error, ſhall extricate them; or rather the goodneſs of God, when the time appointed by his providence, for puniſhing their ingratitude, and ſubduing their pride, ſhall be accompliſhed.

Meantime they remain the ſcorn of nations, and the object of their averſion; nor has ſo long a captivity made them yet come to themſelves, though that ſhould ſuffice to convince them. For indeed, as powerful Jerom addreſſes them, "What doſt thou expect, "O unbelieving Jew? Thou didſt commit "much wickedneſs during the time of the "judges: thine idolatry made thee a ſlave "to all the nations round; but God ſoon "took pity on thee, and was not ſlow to "ſend thee ſaviors. Thou didſt multiply "thine idolatries under thy kings; but the "abominations, into which thou felleſt "under Ahaz and Manaſſeh, were puniſhed "onely by ſeventy years captivity. Cyrus "came and reſtored thee to thy country, thy "temple, and thy ſacrifices. At length "thou waſt overthrown by Veſpaſian and "Titus. Fifty years after, Adrian com-"pleted thine extermination; and four hun-"dred

Hier. Ep. ad Dar. Tom. 3. Epiſt.

" dred years haſt thou groaned under oppreſ-
" ſion." Thus far he. The argument is ſince ſtrengthened, and thirteen hundred years have been added to the deſolation of the Jewiſh people. Say we then, inſtead of four hundred years, that ſeventeen centuries have beheld the continuance of its captivity, nor has its yoke become lighter. " What
" have ye done, O ungrateful people! Slaves
" in all countries, and of all princes, ye do
" not ſerve ſtrange gods. How hath God,
" who had elected you, forgotten you, and
" where are his former tender mercies?
" What wickedneſs, what greater crime
" than idolatry, maketh you feel a chaſtiſe-
" ment, that your idolatries never brought
" upon you? Ye hold your peace? Ye
" cannot comprehend what rendereth God
" inexorable? Remember that expreſſion
" of your fathers: *His blood be on us, and on* Matt. xxvii. 25.
" *our children*; and again: *We have no king* John xix. 15.
" *but Ceſar*. The Meſſiah ſhall not be your
" king: hold faſt him, whom ye have cho-
" ſen: continue ſlaves to Ceſar, and to the
" kings, *until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come* Rom. xi. 25, 26.
" *in, and ſo all Iſrael be ſaved*"

XI. Particular reflexions on the converſion of the Gentiles.

THIS converſion of the Gentiles was the ſecond thing to happen at the time of the Meſſiah, and the ſureſt mark of his coming. We have ſeen how clearly the prophets had foretold it, and their promiſes were made good in the days of our Lord. It is certain, that then onely, and neither ſooner nor later, what the philoſophers dared not to attempt, what

The profound counſel of God, who was

ple ſed to convert them by the croſs of CHRIST.

St. Paul's reaſoning on this manner of converting them.

what neither the prophets, nor the Jewiſh people, when moſt protected and moſt faithful, were able to effect, twelve fiſhermen ſent by JESUS CHRIST, and witneſſes of his reſurrection, accompliſhed. The converſion of the world, was to be the work, neither of philoſophers, nor even of prophets: it was reſerved for the CHRIST, and was the fruit of his croſs.

It behooved indeed that CHRIST and his apoſtles ſhould go forth from the Jews, and that the preaching of the goſpel ſhould begin
Iſ. ii. 2, 3. at Jeruſalem. *In the laſt days was a mountain to be eſtabliſhed and exalted*, according to Iſaiah: and this was the Chriſtian church. *All the Gentiles were to come thither, and many nations*
— 17, 18. *were to flow unto it. The Lord alone was to be exalted in that day: and the idols he was utterly to aboliſh.* But Iſaiah, who ſaw theſe things, ſaw, at the ſame time, that *the law, which*
— 3, 4. *was to judge among the nations, ſhould go forth out of Zion; and that the word of the Lord, which was to rebuke many people, ſhould iſſue from Jeruſalem*; which made our Savior ſay,
John iv. 22. that *ſalvation was of the Jews.* And it was fit, that the new light, by which the people plunged in idolatry were one day to be enlightened, ſhould diverge over the world from the place where it had ever been. It was in JESUS CHRIST, the ſon of David and Abraham, that all nations were to be bleſſed and ſanctified. This we have often remarked; but we have not yet obſerved the cauſe for which this ſuffering JESUS, this JESUS crucified

cified and ſet at nought, was to be the ſole author of the converſion of the Gentiles, and the ſole ſubduer of idolatry.

Saint Paul has explained this great myſtery to us, in the firſt chapter of his epiſtle to the Corinthians; nor may it be improper to conſider that beautiful paſſage in its full extent. *Chriſt*, ſaid he, *ſent me to preach the goſpel*; *not with wiſdom of words*, and human reaſoning, *leſt the croſs of Chriſt ſhould be made of none effect. For the preaching of the croſs is, to them that periſh, fooliſhneſs; but unto us, who are ſaved, it is the power of God. For it is written, I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe, and will bring to nought the underſtanding of the prudent. Where is the wiſe? Where is the ſcribe? Where is the diſputer of this world? Hath not God made fooliſh the wiſdom of this world?* Doutleſs, ſince it could not bring men out of their ignorance. But the reaſon St. Paul gives for it, is this. *After that, in the wiſdom of God*, that is, in the creatures he had ſo wiſely ordained, *the world by wiſdom knew not God*, he took another way; and *was pleaſed by the fooliſhneſs of preaching to ſave them that believe*, that is, by the myſtery of the croſs, where human wiſdom can comprehend nothing.

1 Cor. i. 17, 18, 19, 20.

Iſ. xxix. 24. xxxiii. 18.

1 Cor. i. 21.

New and admirable deſign of divine providence! God had introduced man into the world, where, which way ſoever he turned his eyes, the wiſdom of the creator ſhone forth in the greatneſs, richneſs, and diſpoſition of that ſo glorious work. Man never-

theleſs miſtook him: the creatures, which preſented themſelves to raiſe our mind higher, fixed it here below: blind and brutiſh man paid them adoration; and, not ſatisfied with worſhipping the works of God's hands, he fell down to the work of his own. Fables, more ridiculous than thoſe told children, conſtituted his religion: he forgot reaſon: but God will have him to forget it in another manner. A work of which he underſtood the wiſdom, touched him not; another work is preſented to him, in which his reaſoning loſes itſelf, and all appears to him fooliſhneſs: namely, the croſs of Chriſt. It is not by reaſoning we come to underſtand this myſtery, but *by bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Chriſt*; but *by caſting down imaginations*, (or reaſonings,) *and every high thing that exalteth itſelf againſt the knowlege of God.*

2 Cor. x. 5.

And indeed, what do we comprehend in this myſtery, where the Lord of glory is loaded with reproaches; where the divine wiſdom is charged with folly: where he, who, ſecure of native majeſty, *thought it not robbery to be equal with God*; *but made himſelf of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a ſervant*; *humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the croſs!* All our thoughts are confounded; and, as St. Paul ſaid, nothing appears more fooliſh to thoſe, who are not enlightened from above.

Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8.

Such was the remedy that God prepared for idolatry. He knew the mind of man, and knew

knew that it was not by argument an error muſt be deſtroyed, which argument had not eſtabliſhed. There are errors, into which we fall through reaſoning; for there man often bewilders himſelf: but idolatry had got in by the oppoſite extreme, by ſtifling all reaſon, and by ſuffering the ſenſes to predominate, which would clothe every thing with the qualities that affect them. Thus was the Deity become viſible and groſs: men gave the Divinity their own figure; and, what was ſtill more ſhameful, their vices and their paſſions. Reaſoning had no ſhare in ſo brutal an error. It was a ſubverſion of reaſon, a delirium, a frenzy. Argue with a frantic perſon, or againſt a man in the rage of a fever; you do but the more provoke him, and render the diſtemper incurable. You muſt go to the cauſe, correct the temperament, and calm the humors, that occaſion ſuch tranſports. So it muſt not be reaſoning, that ſhall cure the delirium of idolatry. What have the philoſophers gained by their pompous diſcourſes, their ſublime ſtile, their reaſonings ſo artfully framed? Did Plato, with his eloquence, which was deemed divine, overthrow one altar, where thoſe monſtrous divinities were worſhipped? On the contrary, he and his diſciples, and all the wiſe men of the world, ſacrificed to a ly: *They became vain in their imaginations: their fooliſh heart was darkened: profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe, they became fools*; ſince, in defiance of Rom. i. 21, 22.

natural light, they paid adoration to creatures.

Was it not then with reason that St. Paul
1 Cor. i. 20. cried out, *Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?* Did they so much as suspect it their duty openly to oppose so many blasphemies, and to suffer, not to say the last infliction, but the smallest affront for the truth? Far from any such
Rom. i. 18. thing, *they held the truth in unrighteousness*; and laid it down as a maxim, that in religion they were to follow the people: the people, whom they so much despised, was their rule in a matter the most momentous of all, and in which their superior lights seemed the most necessary. What hast thou then availed, O
1 Cor. i. 19, philosophy? *Hath not God made foolish the*
20. *wisdom of this world?* as said St. Paul. *Hath he not destroyed the wisdom of the wise, and brought to nothing the understanding of the prudent?*

Thus has God shown, by experience, that the overthrow of idolatry could not be the work of human reason alone. Far from committing to it the cure of such a malady, God completed its confusion by the mystery of the cross, carrying withall the remedy to the source of the evil.

Idolatry, if we rightly understand it, took its rise from that profound attachment, which we have to ourselves. This it was, that made us contrive gods like us; gods, who indeed were but men, subject to like passions, weaknesses, and vices; so that, under the name of

of deities, it was really their own thoughts, pleaſures, and fancies, that the Gentiles worſhipped.

JESUS CHRIST leads us into other paths. His poverty, ignominy, and croſs rendered him an object ſhocking to our ſenſes. We muſt get out of ſelf, renounce all, crucify all, to follow him. Man, torn from himſelf, and from all that his corruption made dear to him, becomes capable of adoring God and his eternal truth, whoſe rules he chooſes henceforth for his guides.

Then periſh and vaniſh all idols, both thoſe that were adored on altars, and thoſe that every one ſerved in his heart. Theſe had ſet up the others. Men worſhipped Venus, becauſe they yielded to the dominion of ſenſual love, and were charmed with its power. Bacchus, the moſt wanton of the gods, had altars, becauſe people abandoned themſelves, and ſacrificed, as it were, to the luſt of their ſenſes, more pleaſing, and intoxicating than wine. JESUS CHRIST, by the myſtery of his croſs, comes to imprint upon their hearts the love of ſufferings inſtead of pleaſures. The idols worſhipped without were ſcattered, becauſe thoſe worſhipped within did no more ſubſiſt: the pure in ſpirit, as ſays CHRIST himſelf, are rendered capable of ſeing God; and man, far from making God like himſelf, ſtrives rather, as far as his weakneſs can admit, to become like God. Matt. v. 8.

The myſtery of CHRIST JESUS has given us to ſee, how Deity could with-

out diſparagement be united to our nature, and clothe itſelf with our infirmities. The Word was made fleſh: he who had *the form* and nature of God, without loſing what he
Phil. ii. 6,7. was, *took upon him the form of a ſervant*. Unalterable in himſelf, he unites to himſelf a forain nature. O men! ye were for gods that ſhould be, to ſay the truth, but men, vicious men: what blindneſs! Here is a new object of adoration for you! God and man together; but a man, who has loſt nothing of what he was, by taking upon him what we are. The Deity remains immutable; and without a poſſibility of debaſing itſelf exalts what it unites with it.

But yet, what is it that God has taken of us? our vices and our ſins? God forbid: he took nothing of man, but what he made in man; and it is certain, that he had made in him neither ſin nor vice. He had made his nature; his nature he took upon him. It may be ſaid, that he had made mortality with the infirmity that attends it, becauſe, although it might not be in the firſt deſign, it was the juſt puniſhment of ſin, and in that quality was the work of the divine juſtice. So God did not diſdain to take it; and, by taking the pain of ſin without ſin itſelf, he ſhowed that he was not the guilty puniſhed; but the righteous, atoning for the ſins of others.

Inſtead therefore of the vices, which men gave their gods, all the virtues appeared in the God-man; and, that they might ſtand the ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt teſt, they appeared amid the moſt horrid torments. Seek we no other viſible God after this: he alone is worthy to pull down all idols; and the victory he was to gain over them, is faſtened to the croſs.

It is faſtened then to an apparent folly. *For the Jews*, proceeds St. Paul, *require a ſign*, by which God, moving all nature with power and great glory, as he did at the departure out of Egypt, may ſet them viſibly above their enemies; *and the Greeks*, or the Gentiles, *ſeek after wiſdom*, and labored diſcourſes, like thoſe of their Plato and Socrates. *But we*, continues the apoſtle, *preach Chriſt crucified, unto the Jews a ſtumbling-block*, not a ſign; *and unto the Gentiles fooliſhneſs*, not wiſdom: *but unto them who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Chriſt the power of God, and the wiſdom of God. Becauſe the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than men; and the weakneſs of God is ſtronger than men.* Behold the finiſhing ſtroke to our conceited ignorance. The wiſdom, to which we are called, is ſo ſublime, that it appears folly to our wiſdom; and its rules are ſo exalted, that the whole ſeems an extravagance. 1 Cor. i. 22. 23, 24, 25.

But, if that divine wiſdom is impenetrable to us in itſelf, it declares itſelf by its effects. A virtue iſſues from the croſs, and all the idols are ſhaken. We ſee them fall to the ground, though ſupported by the whole Roman power. Not the wiſe, not the noble, not the mighty, have wrought ſo great a miracle. The work of God has been continued;

nued; and, what he began by the humiliations of JESUS CHRIST, he has conſummated by the humiliations of his diſciples. *For ye ſee your calling, brethren*; thus St. Paul concludes his admirable diſcourſe: ye ſee thoſe whom God hath called amongſt you, and of whom he hath compoſed this church victorious over the world; *how that not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called. But God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world, to confound the wiſe; and God hath choſen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty: and baſe things of the world, and things which are deſpiſed, hath God choſen; yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are; that no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence.* The apoſtles and their diſciples, the offſcouring of the world, mere nothing, to behold them with human eyes, prevailed over all the emperors, and the whole empire. Men had forgot the creation, when God renewed it by producing, out of that nothing, his church, which he rendered all-powerful againſt error. He confounded together with idols all human greatneſs, that interpoſed in their defence; and he wrought ſo great a work, as he had done the univerſe, by the ſole power of his word.

1 Cor. i. 26, 27, 28, 29.

XII. Different forms of idolatry, the ſenſes, intereſt, igno-

IDOLATRY appears to us weakneſs itſelf; nor can we eaſily conceive how ſo much ſtrength ſhould have been requiſite to deſtroy it. But, on the contrary, its extravagance ſpeaks the difficulty of ſubduing it; and ſo great a ſubverſion

verſion of reaſon ſufficiently ſhows, how deeply principle was tainted. The world was grown old in idolatry; and, infatuated by its idols, was become deaf to the voice of nature, which cried out againſt them. What power was needful, to recall to the memory of man the true God ſo profoundly forgotten, and to recover mankind from ſo woful a ſtate of ſtupidity!

rance, a falſe veneration for antiquity, policy, philoſophy and hereſies come to its aid: the church triumphs over all.

All the ſenſes, all the paſſions, all intereſts, fought for idolatry. It was calculated for pleaſure: diverſions, ſhows, licentiouſneſs itſelf, made part of the divine worſhip. The feſtivals were mere farces; and from no ſcene of human life was modeſty more induſtriouſly baniſhed, than from the myſteries of religion. How accuſtom minds ſo corrupt, to the regularity of true religion, which is chaſte, ſevere, an enemy to the ſenſes, and ſolely intent upon inviſible joys? As Saint Paul ſpoke to the governor of Judea, *of righteouſneſs, temperance, and judgement to come*; *Felix trembled, and anſwered, Go thy way for this time: when I have a convenient ſeaſon, I will call for thee.* Such diſcourſes were to be put far off by a man, who wanted to enjoy, without ſcruple, and at any rate, the good things of the earth.

Acts xxiv. 25.

Would you ſee the efforts of intereſt, that powerful ſpring, which gives motion to human affairs? In that great downcry of idolatry, which St. Paul's preaching began to cauſe over Aſia, the craftſmen, who got their bread by making little ſilver-ſhrines of the

the Epheſian Diana, aſſembled; and the leading man repreſented to them, that their gain was about to ceaſe: *And not onely*, ſays he, *this our craft is in danger to be ſet at nought; but alſo the temple of the great goddeſs Diana to be deſpiſed, and her magnificence to be deſtroyed, whom all Aſia and the world worſhippeth.*

Acts xix. 27.

How powerful is intereſt, and how bold, when it can put on the cloke of religion! There needed no more to ſtir up the artiſts. They ſallied forth like madmen, crying out, *Great is Diana of the Epheſians!* and dragging St. Paul's companions to the theatre, where the whole city had aſſembled. Then the cries redoubled, and for two hours the public place rang with the words, *Great is Diana of the Epheſians!* Saint Paul and his companions were with difficulty reſcued from the hands of the people by the magiſtrates, who feared leſt great diſorders ſhould happen in the uproar. If, to the intereſt of private perſons, you join the intereſt of the prieſts, who were about to fall with their gods; and to all this add the intereſt of the cities, which falſe religion rendered conſiderable; as the city of Epheſus, who owed to her temple her privileges, and the reſort of ſtrangers, by which ſhe was enriched; what ſtorm muſt ariſe againſt the infant church! and need we wonder to ſee the apoſtles ſo oft beaten, ſtoned, and left for dead, in the midſt of the populace? But a greater intereſt is about to move a greater machine; the intereſt of the

ſtate

ſtate is about to put the ſenate, people, and emperors in action.

The decrees of the ſenate had long prohibited ſtrange religions. The emperors had eſpouſed the ſame policy; and, in that great conſultation about reforming abuſes of government, one of the chief regulations, that Mecenas propoſed to Auguſtus, was the preventing of innovations in religion, which never failed to occaſion dangerous commotions in a ſtate. The maxim was juſt: for what more violently agitates mens minds, and carries them to ſtranger exceſſes? But God would ſhow that the eſtabliſhment of true religion excited no ſuch troubles; and this is one of the wonders, which demonſtrate his having had a hand in the work. For who would not be amazed to ſee, that, during three hundred long years, that the church had to ſuffer all the cruelties that perſecuting rage could invent, amid ſo many ſeditions and civil wars, amid ſo many conſpiracies againſt the perſon of emperors, there ſhould never have been found a ſingle Chriſtian, good or bad? The Chriſtians defy their greateſt enemies to name one; indeed, there never was one: ſo much veneration for public power did the Chriſtian doctrine inſpire; and ſo deep was the impreſſion made on all their minds by theſe words of the Son of God: *Render unto Ceſar the things which are Ceſar's, and unto God the things that are God's.*

Liv. lib. xxxix, & foll. Orat. Maecen. ap. Dion. lii. Tertul. Apolog. 5. Euſ. Hiſt. Eccl. ii. 2.

Tertul. Apolog. 35. 36, & foll.

Matt. xxii. 21.

That beautiful diſtinction conveyed ſo clear a light into their minds, that never did the Chriſtians

Christians ceaſe to reverence the image of God in princes, even perſecutors of the truth. This principle ſhines ſo bright in all their apologies, that they inſpire, to this day, thoſe that read them, with the love of public order; and ſhows that they expected, from none but God, the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. Men ſo determined on death, who filled the whole empire, and all the armies, broke not once out during ſo many ages of ſuffering; they denied themſelves not onely ſeditious actions, but even the ſmalleſt murmur. The finger of God was in the work; and no other hand than his could have reſtrained ſpirits provoked by ſo many injuries.

Tertul. Apolog. 37.

Indeed, to be treated as public enemies, and enemies to the emperors, was hard on thoſe who breathed nothing but obedience, and whoſe moſt ardent vows aſcended for the ſafety of the princes, and the happineſs of the ſtate. But the Roman policy thought itſelf fundamentally attacked, when its gods were deſpiſed. Rome boaſted of being a holy city from her foundation, originally conſecrated by divine auſpices, and dedicated by her founder to the god of war. She almoſt believed Jupiter more preſent in the capitol, than in heaven. She thought ſhe owed her victories to her religion. By that ſhe had overcome the nations and their gods; for ſuch was the reaſoning of the time: ſo that the Roman gods muſt have been maſters of other gods, as the Romans were maſters of other men. Rome, by ſubduing Judea, had

Cic. Orat. pro Flacc. Orat. Symm. de Imper. Valer. Theod. & Arc. ap. Amb. tom. v. lib. v. Ep. 30. Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. ii. iv. &c.

had reckoned the God of the Jews among the gods ſhe had vanquiſhed: to pretend to eſtabliſh his reign, was to ſap the foundations of the empire; it was to hate the victories and power of the Roman people. Thus the Chriſtians, enemies of the gods, were looked upon at the ſame time as enemies of the commonwealth. The emperors took more pains to exterminate them, than to exterminate the Parthians, Marcomans, or Dacians. Chriſtianity overthrown appeared in their inſcriptions, with as much pomp as the Sarmatians defeated. But they falſely boaſted of having deſtroyed a religion, which was growing under fire and ſword. In vain to cruelty were added calumnies. Men, who practiſed virtues above man, were accuſed of vices, that ſhock human nature. Thoſe were accuſed of inceſt, whoſe chaſtity was their delight. Thoſe were accuſed of eating their own children, who did all the good in their power to their perſecutors. But, in ſpite of the public hatred, the force of truth drew favorable reports from the mouths of their enemies. Every one knows what the younger Pliny wrote to Trajan concerning the good morals of the Chriſtians. They were juſtified, but not exempted from the ſevereſt infliction: for this laſt ſtroke was requiſite to finiſh in them the image of JESUS CHRIST crucified; and they muſt, like him, go to the croſs with a public declaration of their innocence.

Plin. lib. x. Ep. 97.

But idolatry did not lay her whole ſtreſs upon violence. Though her baſis was a

brutal ignorance, and a total depravation of common-ſenſe, ſhe was willing to color herſelf with ſome ſhow of argument. How many times did ſhe endeavor to diſguiſe, and into how many ſhapes did ſhe transform herſelf, in order to cover her ſhame! She ſometimes affected a reverence for the Deity, ſaying; Whatever is divine, is unknown: the Deity alone knows itſelf: it is not for us to dive into ſo deep matters, which therefore we are to take from the ancients; and every one ought to follow the religion, which he finds eſtabliſhed in his country. By theſe maxims, errors equally groſs and impious, which filled the whole earth, were without remedy; and the voice of nature, which proclaimed the true God, was ſtifled.

There was indeed ground to think, that the weakneſs of our reaſon ſtands in need of ſome authority, to bring it back to principle; and that it is from antiquity, we muſt learn true religion. So have you ſeen the uninterrup ed progreſſion of it from the beginning of the world. But of what antiquity could Paganiſm boaſt, who could not read her own hiſtories, without finding in them the origin not onely of religion, but of her gods? Varro and Cicero, not to mention other authors, have ſufficiently ſhown this. Or ſhould we have recourſe to thoſe thouſands of years, which the Egyptians filled with confuſed and impertinent fables, in order to eſtabliſh the antiquity they boaſted; even there were to be ſeen the birth

De Nat. Deor. lib. i. & iii.

and

and death of the divinities of Egypt; nor could that people make itſelf ancient, without out pointing the commencement of its gods.

But behold another form of idolatry; and this would have men to adore whatever paſſed for divine. The Roman policy, which ſo ſtrictly prohibited ſtrange religions, allowed the worſhipping of the gods of the Barbarians, provided it had adopted them. Thus did it affect to appear equitable towards all gods, as well as towards all men. It ſometimes offered incenſe to the God of the Jews with the reſt. We find a letter of Julian the apoſtate, where he promiſes to the Jews to rebuild the holy city, and with them to ſacrifice to God the creator of the univerſe. We have ſeen, that the heathens were very willing to worſhip the true God, but not the true God onely; and it was not the fault of the emperors, that JESUS CHRIST himſelf, whoſe diſciples they were perſecuting, had not altars among the Romans. Jul. Ep. comm. Judaeor.

How! could the Romans ever think of honoring him as a God, whom their magiſtrates had condemned to the laſt infliction, and whom ſeveral of their authors have loaded with reproaches? The thing is inconteſtable, nor need we be aſtoniſhed at it.

Let us firſt diſtinguiſh what general aſſertions a blind inveteracy dictates, from poſitive facts aſcertained by proof. Certain it is that the Romans, though they condemned JESUS CHRIST, did never tax him with any one particular crime. This made Pilate

condemn him with ſuch reluctance, when worried by the clamors and threatenings of the Jews. But, what is much more wonderful, the Jews themſelves, at whoſe inſtance he was crucified, have not preſerved in their ancient books the memory of any one action, that might throw the leaſt blemiſh upon his life; ſo far were they from remarking any, that ſhould have made him deſerve the cruelleſt and moſt ignominious puniſhment: whence is manifeſtly confirmed what we read in the Goſpel, that our Lord's whole crime was his having called himſelf the Chriſt the Son of God.

Tac. An. xv. 44. Accordingly, Tacitus gives us an account of JESUS CHRIST's ſuffering under Pontius Pilate, and during the empire of Tiberius; but he alledges not one crime, that ſhould have made him worthy of death; ſave that of being author of a ſect convicted of hating mankind, or of being hateful to it. Such was the crime of JESUS CHRIST and the Chriſtians; and their greateſt enemies could never accuſe them but in vague terms, without ever producing one poſitive fact that could be laid to their charge.

It is true, that, in the laſt perſecution, and three hundred years after JESUS CHRIST, the heathens, being quite at a loſs how to brand either him or his diſciples, publiſhed forged acts of Pilate, where they pretended the crimes were to be ſeen, for which our Savior had been crucified. But, as we hear nothing of thoſe acts in all the preceding a-

ges;

ges, and as neither under Nero, nor under Domitian, who ſwayed the imperial ſcepter in the beginning of Chriſtianity, how great enemies ſoever they were to it, do we find one word about them, it is plain they were cooked for the purpoſe; and ſo ſlender among the Romans were the proofs againſt JESUS CHRIST, that his enemies were obliged to have recourſe to fiction.

Behold then one clear point, the innocence of JESUS CHRIST irreproachable. Add we a ſecond, the holineſs of his life and doctrine acknowleged. One of the greateſt Roman emperors, namely Alexander Severus, admired our Lord, and cauſed ſome ſentences of his goſpel to be inſcribed on the public works, as well as in his own palace. The ſame emperor commended, and propoſed as a pattern, the godly caution with which the Chriſtians ordained miniſters in ſacred things. Nor was this all: in a ſort of chapel of his palace, did he ſacrifice every morning. He there had conſecrated the images of *holy ſouls*, among whom he ranked with Orpheus, JESUS CHRIST and Abraham. He had another chapel, or as you pleaſe to tranſlate the Latin word *Lararium*, of leſs dignity than the former, where were to be ſeen the images of Achilles, and ſome other great men; but JESUS CHRIST was placed in the foremoſt rank. By a heathen is this recorded, who, for a witneſs, cites an author of Alexander's own time. Theſe then are two witneſſes of

Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. c. 45. 51.

Id. c. 29. 31.

Porph. i. de Philoſ. per Orac. Euſeb. Dem. Ev. iii. 8.

one fact; and here is another fact, which is no leſs ſurpriſing.

Although Porphyry, by abjuring Chriſtianity, had declared himſelf an enemy to it, he nevertheleſs, in the book entitled *Philoſophy by Oracles*, owns that ſome of them were very favorable to the holineſs of JESUS CHRIST.

Aug. de Civ. Dei, xix. c. 23.

God forbid that we ſhould learn from lying oracles the glory of the Son of God, who ſilenced them by his birth. Thoſe oracles, quoted by Porphyry, are mere inventions of men: but it is proper to know what the heathens put into the mouths of their gods concerning our Lord. Porphyry then aſſures us that there are oracles, "where JESUS "CHRIST is called a pious man, and worthy of immortality; the Chriſtians, on "the contrary, impure and deluded people." He afterwards recites the oracle of the goddeſs Hecate, where ſhe ſpeaks of JESUS CHRIST, as "of a perſon eminent for his "piety; whoſe body indeed yielded to tor"ments, but whoſe ſoul is in heaven with "the bleſſed ſouls. This ſoul," ſaid Porphyry's goddeſs, "by a kind of fatality, "hath inſtilled error into the ſouls, to whom "deſtiny hath not allotted the gifts of the "gods and the knowlege of the great Jupi"ter; wherefore they are enemies to the "gods. But beware of blaming him," purſues ſhe, ſpeaking of JESUS CHRIST; "and onely pity the error of thoſe, whoſe "unhappy fate I have related to you." Pompous

pous expreſſions, and entirely void of meaning! but they prove that the glory of our Lord forced praiſes from his enemies.

Beſides the innocence and holineſs of JESUS CHRIST, there is yet a third point no leſs important: his miracles. Certain it is, that the Jews never denied them; and we find in their Talmud ſome of thoſe, which his diſciples wrought in his name. Onely to ſully them, they ſaid he had performed them by enchantments, which he had learned in Egypt; or even by the name of God, that unknown and ineffable name, of which the virtue is all powerful, according to the Jews, and which JESUS CHRIST had diſcovered, none knows how, in the ſanctuary; or, in fine, becauſe he was one of thoſe prophets pointed out by Moſes, whoſe lying miracles were to turn the people to idolatry. JESUS CHRIST, the overthrower of idols, whoſe goſpel has cauſed one God to be alone acknowleged through the earth, needs not to be juſtified from this imputation: true prophets have no leſs preached his divinity than he has himſelf; and what muſt reſult from the teſtimony of the Jews is, that JESUS CHRIST wrought miracles, in order to prove his miſſion.

Tr. de Idolat. & Com. in Eccl.

Tr. de Sabb. c. 12. lib. generat. Jeſu, ſeu hiſt. Jeſu.

Deut. xiii. 1, 2.

Moreover, when they tax him with working them by magic, they would do well to conſider, that Moſes was accuſed of the ſame crime. This was the ancient opinion of the Egyptians, who, aſtoniſhed at the wonders God had wrought in their country by that great man, claſſed him in the number of

chief

chief magicians. We may likewiſe ſee this opinion in Pliny and Apuleius, where Moſes ſtands named with Jannes and Jambres, thoſe celebrated enchanters of Egypt, whom St. Paul mentions, and whom Moſes had confounded by his miracles. But the anſwer of the Jews was eaſy. The tricks of the magicians never had a laſting effect: nor do they tend to eſtabliſh, as did Moſes, the worſhip of the true God, and holineſs of life: beſides that God knows always how to get the maſtery, and to perform works that defy the imitation of adverſe power. The ſame arguments ſet JESUS CHRIST above ſo vain an accuſation, which therefore, as we have already remarked, ſerves onely to prove his miracles inconteſtable.

Plin. xxxi. 1.
Apul. Apol.
2 Tim. iii. 8.

So eminently are they diſputeleſs, that the Gentiles could no more diſallow them than the Jews. Celſus, the great enemy of the Chriſtians, and who attacks them in the earlieſt times with all imaginable addreſs, ſearching with infinite pains for every thing that might make to their prejudice, did not pretend to deny all the miracles of our Lord. He ſhifts it off by ſaying with the Jews, that JESUS CHRIST had learned the ſecrets of the Egyptians, that is, magic; and that he arrogated to himſelf divinity, from the wonders he performed by the power of that damnable art. It was for the ſame reaſon that the Chriſtians were accounted magicians; and we have a paſſage of Julian the apoſtate, which treats our Lord's miracles with contempt,

Orig. cont. Celſ. l. ii.
Orig. ibid. & in Act. Mart. paſſim.
Jul. ap. Cyr. l. vi.

tempt, but calls them not into queſtion. Voluſian, in his epiſtle to Auguſtine, does the ſame; and this way of talking was common among the heathens. Ap. Aug. tom. ii. Ep. 3, 4.

We need therefore no more wonder, if they, who were wont to deify all men in whom any thing extraordinary appeared, ſhould be willing to rank JESUS among their divinities. Tiberius, upon the accounts he had from Judea, propoſed to the ſenate to grant divine honors to CHRIST. This is not a fact advanced at random: Tertullian quotes it, as public and notorious, in the apology, which he preſents to the ſenate in the name of the church; nor would he have riſked the weakening of ſo good a cauſe by aſſertions, that might have been ſo eaſily confuted. But, if we want the teſtimony of another heathen, Lampridius will tell us, that "Adrian had reared temples to JESUS CHRIST, "which were ſtill to be ſeen at the time of "his writing;" and that Alexander Severus, after revering him in private, would erect altars publicly to him, and number him with the gods. Tertul apolog. 5. Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. ii. 2. Lamp. in Alex. c. 4.

There is certainly great injuſtice in reſolving to believe nothing of JESUS CHRIST, but from thoſe who were none of his diſciples: for it is to ſeek faith in infidels, or care and exactneſs in thoſe, who, occupied with quite other matters, held religion as a thing indifferent. It is nevertheleſs true, that the glory of JESUS CHRIST ſhone with ſuch irreſiſtible brightneſs, that the world could

could not forbear rendering him ſome teſtimony; and I can bring you none more authentic than that of ſo many emperors.

I confeſs, however, that they had alſo another deſign. A mixture was of policy in the honors they paid to JESUS CHRIST. They expected that at laſt the religions would be united; and that the Gods of all ſects would come to be common. The Chriſtians had no notion of this motley worſhip, and deſpiſed no leſs the condeſcenſions than the rigors of the Roman policy. But God was pleaſed that another principle ſhould make the heathens reject thoſe temples, which the emperors were deſigning JESUS CHRIST. The idol-prieſts, as we learn from the heathen author already ſo often quoted, remonſtrated to the emperor Adrian, That, "if he conſecrated thoſe temples built for "the uſe of the Chriſtians, all the other "temples would be forſaken, and all the "world would embrace the Chriſtian reli-"gion." Idolatry felt in our religion a victorious power, againſt which the falſe gods could not ſtand; and proved itſelf the juſtneſs of that ſaying of the apoſtle, *What concord hath Chriſt with Belial? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?*

2 Cor. vi. 15, 16.

Thus, by the power of the croſs, the pagan religion, ſelf-confuted, was falling to ruin; and the unity of God was prevailing in ſuch ſort, that at length even idolatry ſeemed not averſe to it. She argued, that the divine nature, ſo great and ſo extenſive, could

Macrob. i. Sat. 17. & ſeq Apul. de Deo. Soc.

could be expreſſed neither by one name, nor under one form; but that Jupiter, Mars, Juno, and the other gods, were in the main one and the ſame God, whoſe infinite virtues were explained and repreſented by ſo many different terms. When afterwards ſhe was obliged to come to the impure hiſtories of the gods, to their infamous genealogies, their unchaſte loves, their feaſts and myſteries, which had no other foundation than thoſe prepoſterous fables, all religion was turned into allegory. The world, or the ſun, proved to be that one god: the ſtars, the air, the fire, the water, the earth, and their various combinations, lay concealed under the names of their gods, and in their loves. Weak and pitiful evaſion! For, beſides that the fables were ſcandalous, and all the allegories flat and forced, what was found at laſt, but that the one god was the univerſe with all its parts? So that the bottom of religion was nature, and ſtill the creature adored inſtead of the creator. Aug. de civ. vi. 10, 11.

Theſe weak pleas for idolatry, though drawn from the philoſophy of the ſtoics, did not quite ſatisfy the philoſophers. Celſus and Porphyry ſought freſh aids in the doctrine of Plato and Pythagoras; and you ſhall ſee how they reconciled the unity of God with the multiplicity of the vulgar deities. There was, ſaid they, but one ſupreme God. But he was ſo great, that he did not concern himſelf with ſmall matters. Contented with having made the heavens and the ſtars, he had Orig. cont. Celſ. v. vi. &c. Plat. conv. Tim. &c. Porphyr. lib. ii. de abſtin. Apul. de Deo Socr.

Aug. de civ. Dei viii. 14. & ſeq. xviii. 21, 22. ix. 3. 6, &c.

had not dained to put a hand to this lower world; but had left it to be framed by his ſubalterns: and man, though born to know him, yet being mortal, was not a work worthy of his hands. Thus was he inacceſſible to our nature; he had his dwelling too high to behold the children of men: the celeſtial ſpirits, who had made us, were to be our mediators with him, and therefore we were to worſhip them.

Aug. Ep. iii. ad Voluſian. &c.

It is not our buſineſs to refute thoſe dreams of the Platoniſts, which do indeed fall of themſelves. The myſtery of JESUS CHRIST deſtroyed them fundamentally. That myſtery taught men, that God, who had made them in his own image, was very far from deſpiſing them; that, if they ſtood in need of a mediator, it was not on account of their nature, which God had made as he had done all the reſt; but on account of their ſin, of which they were the ſole authors: moreover, that their nature removed them ſo little from God, that God did not diſdain to unite himſelf to them by becoming man, and gave them, for mediator, not thoſe ſpirits called demons by philoſophers, and by ſcripture angels; but a man, who, joining the power of God to our frail nature, ſhould bring a remedy to our weakneſs.

But, if the pride of the Platoniſts could not ſtoop to the humiliations of the Word made fleſh, ſhould they not at leaſt have conceived, that man, though a little lower than the angels, was nevertheleſs, like them, capable

pable of poſſeſſing God; ſo that he was rather their brother than their ſervant, and was not to worſhip them, but to worſhip with them in the ſpirit of fellowſhip, him who had made both them and him after his own likeneſs? It was therefore not onely the laſt meanneſs, but even the laſt ingratitude in mankind, to ſacrifice to any other than God; and nothing was blinder than paganiſm, which, inſtead of reſerving for him that ſupreme worſhip, rendered it to ſo many demons.

Here it was that idolatry, at her laſt ſtand, completely diſcovered her weakneſs. Towards the end of the perſecutions, Porphyry, hard put to it by the Chriſtians, was forced to ſay that ſacrifice was not ſupreme worſhip; and behold how far he carried his extravagance. That moſt high God, he ſaid, accepted no ſacrifice: whatever is material, is impure in his eyes; and may not be offered to him. Speech itſelf ought not to be employed in his worſhip, becauſe the voice is a corporeal thing: we ſhould adore him in ſilence, and by ſimple meditation; any other worſhip being unworthy of a majeſty ſo exalted. Porphyr. lib. ii. de Abſtin. Aug. de Civ. x.

Thus God was too great to be praiſed. It was criminal to expreſs, as we can, what we conceive of his greatneſs. Sacrifice, though but a way of declaring our profound dependance, and an acknowlegement of his ſoverainty, was not for him. So Porphyry affirmed; and what elſe was this, than to aboliſh religion, and to leave entirely, with-

out worſhip, him whom they, that wanted to do ſo, acknowleged the God of gods.

But what then were thoſe ſacrifices which the Gentiles offered in all the temples? Porphyry had found out the ſecret. There were, he ſaid, ſome unclean, lying, miſchievous ſpirits; who, through an extravagant pride, would paſs for gods, and be worſhipped as ſuch by men. It was proper to pleaſe them, leſt they ſhould hurt us. Some, more gay and jovial, ſuffered themſelves to be won by ſpectacles and games; the gloomy humor of others required fat odors, and delighted in bloody ſacrifices. To what purpoſe refute ſuch abſurdities? In ſhort, the Chriſtians gained their cauſe. It remained certain, that all the gods, to whom the Gentiles ſacrificed, were evil ſpirits, whoſe pride arrogated divinity: ſo that idolatry, to conſider it in itſelf, appeared onely the effect of a brutiſh ignorance; but, to trace it to its ſource, it was a device deeply hatched, and carried to the laſt exceſs by malicious ſpirits. This the Chriſtians had always aſſerted; this the goſpel taught; this the pſalmiſt ſang: *All the gods of the heathen are idols; but it is the Lord, that made the heavens.*

Porph. ii. de Abſtin. Lab. apud Aug viii. de Civ. 13.

Pſal. xcvi. 5.

And yet, SIR, ſtrange blindneſs of mankind! idolatry, reduced ſo low, and confuted by itſelf, did nevertheleſs keep its ground. There needed onely to clothe it with ſhow, and to explain it in words pleaſing to the ear, to get it admiſſion into the mind. Porphyry was admired. Jamblicus, his follower,

er, was held a divine perſon, becauſe he had the art of wrapping up the ſentiments of his maſter in terms ſeemingly myſterious, though in reality they meant nothing. Julian the apoſtate, cunning as he was, was caught by theſe appearances; as the heathens themſelves relate. Enchantments, true or falſe, which thoſe philoſophers boaſted; their misjudged auſterity; their ridiculous abſtinence, which went ſo far as to make it a crime to eat the fleſh of animals; their ſuperſtitious purifications; in fine, their contemplation, which evaporated into chimera, and their words, as little ſolid as ſublime, impoſed upon the world. But this was not the main matter. The ſanctity of the Chriſtian manners, the contempt of pleaſure which it enjoined, and, more than all, the humility, which was the very eſſence of Chriſtianity, offended men; ſo that, if we take it rightly, pride, ſenſuality, and licentiouſneſs were the ſole ſupports of idolatry.

Eunap. Maxim. Oribaſ. Chryſanth. Ep. Jul. ad Jamb. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxi. xxiii. xxv.

The church was daily rooting it up by her doctrine, and ſtill more by her patience. But thoſe wicked ſpirits, who had never ceaſed to deceive men, and who had plunged them into idolatry, did not forget their malice. They ſtirred up in the church thoſe hereſies which you have ſeen. Men falſely curious, thence vain and turbulent, wanted to get a name among the faithful; nor could they content themſelves with that ſober and temperate wiſdom, which the apoſtle had ſo much recommended to the Chriſtians. They Rom. xii. 3.

lanched too deep into the myſteries, which they pretended to meaſure by our weak conceptions: new philoſophers, who blended human reaſon with faith, and undertook to leſſen the difficulties of Chriſtianity; not being able to digeſt all the fooliſhneſs, which the world found in the goſpel. Thus were all the articles of our faith ſucceſſively, and with a ſort of method, attacked. The creation, the law of Moſes the neceſſary foundation of ours, the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, his incarnation, his grace, his ſacraments, every thing in ſhort afforded matter for ſcandalous diviſions. Celſus and others caſt them in our teeth. Idolatry ſeemed to triumph. She conſidered Chriſtianity as a new ſect of philoſophy, that was ſharing the fate of the reſt, and, like them, ſubdividing into various ſects. The church appeared to them but a human work, ready to fall of itſelf. Men concluded that in matters of religion, they were not to refine upon their anceſtors, or attempt to change the world.

Orig. lib. v. cont. Celſ.

In this confuſion of ſects, which pretended to be Chriſtian, God did not fail his church. He knew how to preſerve to her a badge of authority, which hereſies could never aſſume. She was catholic or univerſal: ſhe extended on all ſides. She was apoſtolic: ſucceſſion, unity, authority were hers. All that forſook her, had formerly acknowleged her; nor were they able to efface the marks of their newneſs and rebellion. The heathens themſelves looked upon her as the ſtock, the whole

Iren. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4. Tertul. de carn. Ch. 2. de præſcript. 20, 21. 32. 36.

whole whence the parts had broke off, the ever-living trunk which the lopt branches had left entire. Celſus, who reproached the Chriſtians with their diviſions, among ſo many ſchiſmatical churches, which he perceived ſtarting up, obſerved one church diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt, and always the ſtrongeſt, which he called for that reaſon, *The great church.* "There are, ſaid he, among the "Chriſtians, ſome who acknowlege not the "Creator, nor the traditions of the Jews;" meaning the Marcionites: "but," purſued he, "the great church receiveth them." In the troubles which Paul of Samoſata excited, the emperor Aurelian had no difficulty to know the true Chriſtian church, to which *the houſe of the church* belonged; whether this were the place of prayer, or the houſe of the biſhop. He adjudged it to thoſe "who were "in communion with the biſhops of Italy "and Rome," becauſe he ſaw the bulk of Chriſtians always in that communion. When the emperor Conſtantius embroiled the whole church, the confuſion into which he threw her, could not hinder Ammianus Marcellinus, though a heathen, from acknowleging that that emperor was ſtraying from the right way "of the Chriſtian religion, plain and "preciſe of itſelf," both in its doctrine and practice. For the true church had a majeſty and a rectitude, which hereſies could neither imitate nor obſcure: on the contrary, they unwittingly bore teſtimony to the catholic church. Conſtantius, who perſecuted Athanaſius,

Orig. lib. v.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 30.

Amm. Mar. lib. xxi.

thanaſius, the defender of the ancient faith, "earneſtly wiſhed," ſays Ammianus Marcellinus, "to have him condemned by the "authority, which the biſhop of Rome had "over the reſt." By ſeeking to avail himſelf of that authority, he made the very heathens ſenſible of what was wanting to his ſect, and honored the church from which the Arians had ſeceded: thus the Gentiles themſelves confeſſed the catholic church. If any one aſked them where ſhe held her aſſemblies, and who were her biſhops, they were never at a loſs to tell. As for the hereſies, do what they would, they never could get rid of the names of their authors. The Sabellians, Paulianiſts, Arians, Pelagians, and the reſt, were in vain offended at the party-title that was given them. The world, how ever ill they took it, would ſpeak naturally, and denominated each ſect from him to whom it owed its riſe. As for the great church, the catholic and apoſtolic church, it never was poſſible to name to her another author than JESUS CHRIST himſelf, to ſpecify the firſt of her paſtors without going up to the apoſtles, or to give her any other name than that which ſhe aſſumed. So that all the heretics could do, concealed her not from the heathens. She opened to them her boſom over the whole earth; and they flocked into it from every quarter. Some were perhaps loſt in the by-paths; but the catholic church was the high-way, by which always moſt of thoſe entered, who ſought JESUS CHRIST; and experience has ſhown, that

Amm. Mar. lib. xv.

that to her it was given to gather in the fulneſs of the Gentiles. Her therefore the infidel emperors aſſaulted with all their force. Origen informs us, that few heretics ſuffered for faith. Juſtin, more ancient than he, has obſerved, that perſecution ſpared the Marcionites, and the other heretics. The heathens perſecuted none but the church, whom they ſaw extending throughout the earth; and acknowleged her alone for the church of JESUS CHRIST. What though ſome branches were plucked off? her good ſap was not loſt for all that: ſhe ſhot forth in other places, and the lopping of the ſuperfluous wood did but render her fruit the better. In fact, if we review the hiſtory of the church, we ſhall find that, as oft as any hereſy has diminiſhed her, ſhe has repaired her loſſes; both by extending without, and growing in light and piety within; while we ſee the lopt branches wither in remote corners. The works of men have periſhed, in ſpite of hell, which ſupported them: the work of God has ſtood faſt, and the church has triumphed ever idolatry and all errors.

Orig. cont. Celſ. v. Juſt. Apol. 2.

XIII. General reflexion on the conſtant progreſs of religion, and the affinity between the books of Scripture.

THIS church, ever attacked, and never vanquiſhed, is a perpetual miracle, and a ſhining teſtimony of the immutability of the counſels of God. Amidſt the agitation of human things ſhe maintains herſelf always with an invincible power, inſomuch that by an uninterrupted ſeries of above ſixteen* hundred years, we trace her back to JESUS CHRIST,

* Now ſeventeen.

CHRIST, in whom ſhe takes up the ſucceſſion of the ancient people, and finds herſelf united to the prophets and the patriarchs.

Thus the many miracles, which the ancient Hebrews ſaw with their eyes, ſerve even at this day to confirm our faith. God, who wrought them for a teſtimony to his unity and omnipotence, what could he do more authentic, to preſerve the memory of them, than leave, in the hands of a whole great nation, the records, that atteſt them, digeſted in the order of time? And this we ſtill have in the books of the Old Teſtament, that is, in the moſt ancient books extant; in the onely books of antiquity, where the knowlege of the true God is taught, and his ſervice ordained; in the books, which the Jewiſh people have ever kept ſo religiouſly. This is the onely people who has known, from its origin, God the creator of heaven and earth; the onely one conſequently, that muſt have been the depoſitary of the divine ſecrets; and theſe preſerved with a religiouſneſs, that has no example. The books, which the Egyptians and other nations called divine, are long ſince loſt; and ſcarce have we any confuſed memorial of them left in the ancient hiſtories. The ſacred books of the Romans, where Numa, the author of their religion, had written the myſteries of it, periſhed by the hands of the Romans themſelves; and the ſenate cauſed them to be burned, as ſubverſive of religion. The ſame Romans at laſt ſuffered to periſh the Sibylline

Tit. Liv. lib. xl. c. 29.

Sibylline books, ſo long revered among them as prophetical, and where they pretended to have found the decrees of the immortal gods concerning their empire; yet without ever exhibiting to the public, not to ſay a ſingle volume, but a ſingle oracle. The Jews have been the onely people, whoſe ſacred writings have been held the more in veneration, the more they have been known. Of all the ancient nations, they are the onely one that has preſerved the primitive monuments of its religion, though abounding with proofs of their infidelity, and of that of their progenitors. And even at this day that ſame people remains upon the earth, to convey to all nations where it has been ſcattered, together with the line of Religion, the miracles and predictions which render her unſhaken.

Varr. lib. de cult. Deor. ap. Aug. de Civ. vii. 14.

When Jesus Christ, ſent by his Father to fulfil the promiſes of the law, confirmed his miſſion, and that of his diſciples, by new miracles; theſe were written with the ſame exactneſs. The records of them were publiſhed to all the earth; the circumſtances of time, perſons, and places, rendered the enquiry eaſy to whoever was ſollicitous about his ſalvation. The world informed itſelf, the world believed; and any one, who has ever ſo little conſidered the ancient monuments of the church, muſt confeſs, that never was diſquiſition made with more deliberation and knowlege.

But, in the affinity the books of the two teſtaments have to each other, one difference,

to

to be obſerved, is, that the books of the ancient people were compoſed at different times; thoſe of Moſes, of Joſhua and the Judges, of the Kings; thoſe, in which the people were brought out of Egypt, and received the law; thoſe, in which they conquered the promiſed land; and thoſe, in which they were, by viſible miracles, reeſtabliſhed in it. To convince the incredulity of a people ſunk in ſenſe, God took a long ſeries of ages, in which he diſtributed his miracles and his prophets; that ſo he might frequently renew the ſenſible proofs, by which his ſacred truths were atteſted. In the New Teſtament he purſues another plan. Nothing new will be revealed to his church, after JESUS CHRIST. In him is perfection and fulneſs; and all the divine books of the new covenant were compoſed in the time of the apoſtles.

That is, the teſtimony of JESUS CHRIST, and of thoſe whom JESUS CHRIST himſelf was pleaſed to make witneſſes of his reſurrection, has ſufficed to the Chriſtian church. Whatever came afterwards, might edify her; but ſhe has regarded nothing as purely inſpired by God, beſide what the apoſtles wrote, or confirmed by their authority.

In this difference found between the books of the two Teſtaments, God has always kept that admirable order, of cauſing things to be written at the time they happened, or when the memory of them was freſh. So thoſe that knew them, wrote them; thoſe that knew them,

them, received the books which bore teſtimony of them: both left them to their deſcendants as a precious inheritance, and pious poſterity has preſerved them.

Thus was formed the body of the holy Scriptures, as well of the Old as New Teſtament: Scriptures which, from their origin, have been regarded as true in every particular, as given by God himſelf; and which have therefore been ſo religiouſly preſerved, that it has ever been held accurſed to change a letter.

Thus have both volumes come to us, ever holy, ſacred, inviolable; one preſerved by the conſtant tradition of the Jewiſh, the other by the tradition of the Chriſtian people, ſo much the more certain, that it has been confirmed by the blood and martyrdom, as well of thoſe who wrote the divine books, as of thoſe who received them.

Auguſtine, and the other fathers, aſk upon what authority we aſcribe profane books to certain times and authors. Every one immediately anſwers, that books are diſtinguiſhed by the different relations they bear to the laws, cuſtoms, hiſtories of a certain time; by the very ſtile, ſtamped with the character of particular ages and authors; above all, by the public faith, and a ſtanding tradition. All theſe concur to eſtabliſh the divine books, to diſtinguiſh their times, to aſcertain their authors; and the more reverence has been ſhown to preſerve them entire, the more is the

Aug. cont. Fauſt. xi. 2. xxvii. 21. xxxiii. 6.

Iren. 1, 2. 17. Tertul. adv. Marc. iv. 1, 4, 5. Aug. de utilit. cred. 3. 17 cont. Faust. Manich. xxii. 79. xxviii. 4. xxxii. xxxiii. Cont. adv. leg. & Porph. i. 29, &c.

the tradition, that preserves them to us, incontestable.

So has it ever been acknowleged, not onely by the orthodox, but also by heretics, and even infidels. Moses has ever passed, throughout the east, and thence throughout the world, for the lawgiver of the Jews, and author of the books they ascribe to him. The Samaritans, who received them from the ten separated tribes, have preserved them as religiously as the Jews. You have seen both their tradition and their history.

Two so opposite nations took not from each other those divine books: both received them from their common origin in the times of Solomon and David. The ancient Hebrew characters, which the Samaritans retain, sufficiently demonstrate that they followed not Ezra, who changed them. Thus the Pentateuch of the Samaritans, and that of the Jews, are two complete originals, independant of each other. The perfect conformity to be seen in the substance of the text, proves the candor of both nations. They are faithful witnesses, who agree without collusion; or, to say better, agree in spite of their enmities, and whom immemorial tradition on both sides has alone fixed in one mind.

Some therefore, who have pretended to say, that, those books being lost, or having never been, were recovered, or composed anew, or altered by Ezra; besides that they are confuted by Ezra himself, are so likewise by the Pentateuch, to be found even at this

this day in the hands of the Samaritans, ſuch as it was red in the primitive ages, by Euſebius of Ceſarea, by Jerom, and other eccleſiaſtical writers; ſuch as thoſe people had preſerved it from their origin: and ſo weak a ſect ſeems to ſubſiſt ſo long for no other reaſon than to bear this teſtimony to the antiquity of Moſes.

The writers of the four goſpels receive a teſtimony no leſs aſcertained, from the unanimous conſent of the faithful, of the heathens, and of the heretics. That great number of different nations, who received and tranſlated thoſe divine books as ſoon as they were finiſhed, do all agree about their date and authors. The heathens contradicted not this tradition. Neither Celſus, who attacked thoſe ſacred books almoſt at the riſe of Chriſtianity, nor Julian the apoſtate, though he can be charged with no ignorance or omiſſion of any thing that could hurt their credit, nor any other heathen ever ſuſpected their being ſpurious: on the contrary, all gave them the ſame authors as did the Chriſtians. The heretics, confounded by the authority of thoſe books, did not dare to ſay that they were not the compoſitions of our Lord's diſciples. There were however ſome of thoſe heretics, who had ſeen the beginnings of the church, and before whoſe eyes the books of the goſpel were written. So the fraud, could there have been any, would have been too cloſely detected, to have had any chance for ſucceſs. It is true,

that, after the apoſtles, and when the church was now extended all over the earth, Marcion and Manes, confeſſedly the moſt daring and moſt ignorant of all heretics, notwithſtanding the tradition derived from the apoſtles, continued by their diſciples, and by the biſhops to whom they had left their chair with the care of the people, and unanimouſly received by the whole Chriſtian church, had the boldneſs to aſſert, that three of the goſpels were ſpurious; and that that of St. Luke which they preferred to the reſt, nobody knows why, as it had come by no other channel, had been falſified. But what proofs did they bring? Mere viſions: no poſitive fact. All the reaſon they gave was, that what was contrary to their ſentiments, muſt neceſſarily have been invented by other than the apoſtles; and all the arguments they urged, were the very opinions diſputed them, opinions ſo extravagant, and ſo manifeſtly prepoſterous, that it is amazing how they could enter the human mind. But ſurely, to tax the fidelity of the church, they muſt have had in their hands ſome originals different from hers, or ſome demonſtrative proof. When challenged, both they and their diſciples, to produce them, they were ſtruck dumb; and left by their ſilence an unconfuted proof, that, in Chriſtianity's ſecond century, in which they wrote, was not ſo much as a ſymptom of forgery, or the ſmalleſt conjecture that could be oppoſed to the tradition of the church.

Iren. Tertul. Aug. loc cit.

What

What ſhall I ſay of the agreement of the books of ſcripture, and of the admirable teſtimony, which all the times of the people of God bear to one another? The times of the ſecond temple ſuppoſe thoſe of the firſt, and carry us back to Solomon. Peace came onely by war; and the conqueſts of the people of God carry us up to the Judges, to Joſhua, and to the coming out of Egypt. Beholding a whole people go out of a kingdom, in which they were ſtrangers, we call to mind how they came into it. The twelve patriarchs immediately appear; and a people, who never conſidered itſelf but as one family, conducts us naturally to Abraham, who is the ſtock of it. Was this people wiſer, and leſs prone to idolatry, after its return from Babylon? It was the natural effect of a ſore chaſtiſement, which its former offences had drawn upon it. If this people glories in having ſeen, for many ages, miracles which other nations never ſaw, it may likewiſe glory in having had the knowlege of God, to which no other people could pretend.

What would we have the circumciſion, and the feaſt of tabernacles, the paſſover, and the other feaſts celebrated in the nation time immemorial, to ſignify, if not the things we find ſpecified in the book of Moſes? That a people diſtinguiſhed from all others by ſo peculiar a religion and manners, preſerving from its origin, upon the principle of the creation, and faith of providence, ſo coherent and exalted a doctrine, ſo lively

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a remembrance of a long train of facts ſo neceſſarily linked together, ceremonies ſo regular, and cuſtoms ſo general; that ſuch a people ſhould have been without a hiſtory to point its origin, and without a law to preſcribe its cuſtoms during the thouſand years that it ſtood; and that Ezra ſhould have been the firſt to give it all at once, under the name of Moſes, with the hiſtory of its antiquities, the law which formed its manners, when that people become captive ſaw its ancient monarchy utterly overthrown: what more incredible fiction could have been deviſed? and can we give credit to it, without joining ignorance to blaſphemy?

To loſe ſuch a law, when it has once been received, a people muſt either be extirpated, or by various viciſſitudes muſt come to have but a confuſed notion of its origin, religion, and cuſtoms. If this misfortune happened to the Jews, and if the law ſo well known under Zedekiah was loſt threeſcore years after, notwithſtanding the cares of an Ezekiel, a Jeremiah, a Baruch, a Daniel, who have conſtant recourſe to that law, as to the ſole foundation of the religion and polity of their people; if, I ſay, the law was loſt in ſpite of thoſe great men, not to reckon others, and at the very time that law had its martyrs, as the perſecutions of Daniel and the three children evince; if, notwithſtanding all this, it was loſt in ſo ſhort a time, and remained ſo profoundly forgotten, that Ezra might reſtore it as he pleaſed; this was not the onely book

book he had to frame: he had at the ſame time to compoſe all the prophets, old and new, thoſe who had written both before and during the captivity; thoſe whom the people had ſeen write, as well as thoſe whoſe memory they preſerved; nor the prophets alone, but alſo the books of Solomon, the pſalms of David, and all the hiſtorical books; as in the whole hiſtory will ſcarce be found one conſiderable fact, or in all the other books one chapter, which, unconnected with Moſes, ſuch as we have him, can ſubſiſt a moment. Every thing there ſpeaks of Moſes, is founded upon Moſes, and ought to be ſo; ſince Moſes, and his law, and the hiſtory he wrote, were, to the Jewiſh people, the whole foundation of public and private conduct. It was indeed a marvellous attempt in Ezra, and quite a new thing in the world, to make ſo many men of different character and ſtile ſpeak at the ſame time with Moſes, each in a uniform manner, ever conſiſtent with itſelf; and all at once to make a whole nation believe that thoſe were the ancient books it had ever revered, and the new ones it had ſeen compoſed: as if it had never heard of any thing, and the knowlege of the time preſent as well as paſt were all of a ſudden aboliſhed. Such are the prodigies we muſt ſwallow, when we will not believe the miracles of the Almighty, nor receive the teſtimony, which aſcertains that a whole great people was told it had ſeen them with its eyes.

But, if that people returned from Babylon into the land of its fathers, so new, and so ignorant as hardly to remember it had been; so as to have received, without enquiry, whatever Ezra thought fit to give it; how then do we see, in the book that Ezra wrote, and in that of Nehemiah his contemporary, all that is there said of the divine books? who could have heard them talk of the law of Moses in so many places, and publicly, as of a thing known to everybody, and ever in everybody's hands? Would they have dared to settle by it the feasts, the sacrifices, the ceremonies, the form of the altar rebuilt, the marriages, the polity, in a word, everything; saying constantly that all was done *as it was written in the law of Moses, the man of God?* How is it that we see the whole people act naturally in consequence of that law, as ever before it? How could that whole people hear Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who then prophesied, and, like the other prophets their predecessors, preached to it nothing but *Moses, and the law which God had given him in Horeb*, to be remembered as a thing known and ever standing in the nation? But how is it said at the same time, and upon the return of the people, that all the people admired the accomplishment of Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the seventy years captivity? That Jeremiah, whom Ezra had just forged with all the other prophets, how did he find credit thus on a sudden? By what new artifice was it possible to persuade a whole

Ezra iii. vii. ix. x.

Mal. iv. 4.

2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. Ezra i. 1.

whole nation, and even the old men who had ſeen that prophet, that they had always expected the miraculous deliverance he had announced to them in his writings? But all this ſhall ſtill be ſuppoſed: Ezra and Nehemiah ſhall not have written the hiſtory of their own time; ſome other ſhall have done it in their name; and thoſe who have coined all the other books of the Old Teſtament ſhall have been ſo favored by poſterity, that other counterfeits ſhall have falſified upon them, in order to give credit to their impoſture.

Men will doutleſs be aſhamed of ſo many abſurdities; and, inſtead of ſaying that Ezra produced all at once ſo many books, ſo diſtinct in the characters both of ſtile and time, they will perhaps ſuppoſe thoſe miracles and predictions inſerted, that gain them the reputation of divine: an error ſtill more palpable than the former, as thoſe predictions and miracles are ſo interſperſed through the books, are ſo forcibly inculcated, and ſo frequently repeated, with ſo many different turns, and ſo vaſt a variety of bold figures; in a word, do ſo conſtitute their ſubſtance, that one muſt never have ſo much as opened thoſe ſacred books, not to ſee it even eaſier to recoin them entirely, than to inſert the things which unbelievers are ſorry to find there. But ſhould we even grant them all they aſk, the miraculous and divine are ſo much the eſſence of thoſe books, that there it muſt appear, do what they will. Let Ezra, if ſo they chooſe;

have afterwards added predictions of things already paſt in his time: Who ſhall have added thoſe ſince accompliſhed, which you have ſeen in ſo great numbers? God ſhall perhaps have beſtowed the gift of prophecy upon Ezra, that Ezra's impoſture might be the more probable; and we will rather have a forger for a prophet, than Iſaiah, Jeremiah, or Daniel: or, every age ſhall have brought forth a ſucceſful falſifier, whom the whole people ſhall have believed; and new impoſtors, through a wonderful zeal for religion, ſhall have been continually adding to the divine books, even after the canon has been cloſed, after they have been diſperſed with the Jews all over the earth, and tranſlated into ſo many forain languages. Would not this way of eſtabliſhing religion have been moſt effectually to ſap its foundations? Does then a whole people ſo eaſily allow to be altered what it believes divine, whether that belief be founded on reaſon or on error? Can any one hope to perſwade the Chriſtians, or even the Turks, to add a ſingle chapter to the Goſpel or Coran? But the Jews perhaps were more tractable than other people, or leſs religious in preſerving their ſacred books! What monſtrous opinions muſt come into the mind, when we will ſhake off the yoke of divine authority, and ſquare our ſentiments, any more than our manners, onely by erring reaſon?

Let not the diſcuſſion of theſe points be called troubleſome: for, though it were ſo, we

we ſhould either ſubmit to the authority of the church, and to the tradition of ſo many ages; or puſh the enquiry to the utmoſt, and not think to get rid of it by ſaying, that it requires more time than we are willing to beſtow upon our ſalvation. But indeed, without taking the labor of turning over all the books of both Teſtaments, we need onely look into the book of Pſalms, where are collected ſo many ancient ſongs of the people of God, to ſee, in the divineſt poetry that ever flowed, immortal monuments of the hiſtory of Moſes, the Judges, and the Kings, imprinted by tune and meaſure on the memory of men. And, for the New Teſtament, Saint Paul's epiſtles alone, ſo lively, ſo original, ſo expreſſive of the time, affairs, and commotions that then were; in ſhort, of ſo marked a character; thoſe epiſtles, I ſay, received by the churches to whom they were addreſſed, and thence communicated to the other churches, might ſuffice to convince well-diſpoſed minds, that every thing is genuine and original in the ſcriptures which the apoſtles have left us.

So do they ſupport each other with an invincible power. The Acts of the Apoſtles do but continue the Goſpel: their Epiſtles neceſſarily preſuppoſe it. But, that all may be agreed, the Acts, Epiſtles, and Goſpels everywhere appeal to the ancient books of the Jews. Saint Paul and the other apoſtles are continually urging what *Moſes ſaid*, what he *wrote*, what the prophets ſaid and wrote after

Acts iii. 22, v. i. 32, & foll. Rom. x. 5, 19.

Luke xxiv. 44. after Moſes. JESUS CHRIST calls to witneſs *the law of Moſes, the prophets, and the Pſalms*, who all depoſe to the ſame truth. If he means to expound *the things concerning himſelf*, — 27. he *begins at Moſes and the prophets*; and, John. v. 46, 47. when he tells the Jews that *Moſes wrote of him*, he lays as a foundation what was moſt noted among them, and carries them up to the very ſource of their traditions.

Let us ſee however what is oppoſed to ſo confeſſed an authority, and to the conſent of ſo many ages; for, ſince in our days men have been ſo daring as to publiſh, in all languages, books againſt the ſcripture, we muſt not diſſemble what they ſay to decry its antiquities. What then do they ſay to illegitimate the Pentateuch? and what can they object to a tradition of three thouſand years, ſupported by its own ſtrength and by the courſe of things? Nothing coherent, nothing poſitive, nothing important: ſome cavils about numbers, places, or names; and ſuch obſervations as in any other matter would at moſt be deemed vain curioſities, incapable of ſtriking at the root of things, are here urged as deciſive of the moſt ſerious affair that ever was in diſcuſſion.

In the ſtory of ſcripture, ſay they, are difficulties. There are doutleſs, which would not, were the book leſs ancient, or had it been forged, as ſome are bold enough to affirm, by an able, artful man; and had men been leſs religious in giving it as they got it, or taken the liberty to correct what cauſed any

any trouble. There are difficulties ariſing from length of time, when places have changed name or ſtate; when dates are forgotten; when genealogies are no longer known; when there is no remedy for faults that the ſmalleſt negligence in a copy ſo eaſily introduces, or when facts, having eſcaped the memory of man, leave darkneſs on ſome part of the hiſtory. But is this obſcurity in the connexion, or in the eſſence? In neither: every thing in both is coherent; and what remains obſcure, ſerves onely to ſhow, in the holy books, a more venerable antiquity.

But in the text are alterations; the ancient verſions do not agree; the Hebrew in ſeveral places is different from itſelf; and the text of the Samaritans, beſide the word they are accuſed of having changed purpoſely in favor of their temple of Gerizim, differs in other places from that of the Jews. And what ſhall we thence conclude? That the Jews or Ezra forged the Pentateuch on their return from captivity? Juſt the contrary ſhould be the concluſion. The differences of the Samaritans ſerve onely to confirm what we have already eſtabliſhed, that their text is independant of that of the Jews. Far from imagining that thoſe ſchiſmatics could have taken any thing from the Jews or from Ezra, we have ſeen, on the contrary, that it was out of ſpite to the Jews and to Ezra, and out of ſpite to both firſt and ſecond temple, that they hatched their chimera of Gerizim. Who does not then ſee that they would rather

Deut. xxvii. 12.

ther have impeached the impoſtures of the Jews, than followed them? Thoſe rebels, who deſpiſed Ezra and all the prophets of the Jews, with their temple, and Solomon who had built it, as well as David who had marked out its place; what elſe did they regard in their Pentateuch, than an antiquity ſuperior not onely to that of Ezra and the prophets, but even to that of Solomon and David; in a word, the antiquity of Moſes, in which the two nations agree? Indiſputable is therefore the authority of Moſes and the Pentateuch, which all objections do but corroborate.

Yet, whence that variety of texts and verſions? Whence, indeed, but from the antiquity of the book itſelf, which has paſt through the hands of ſo many tranſcribers, for ſo many ages, that the language in which it is written has ceaſed to be common? But, vain diſputes apart, let us pluck up the difficulty by the roots. Is it not allowed, that, from all the verſions, and from any text, will ſtill reſult the ſame laws, the ſame miracles, the ſame predictions, the ſame courſe of hiſtory, the ſame body of doctrine, and in ſhort the ſame ſubſtance? What harm after this do the diverſities of texts? What needed we more than this unalterable ſtock of ſacred books, and what farther could we require of divine providence? As for the verſions, is it a mark of ſpuriouſneſs, or innovation, that the language of ſcripture is ſo ancient that we have loſt its delicacies, and that we find

ourſelves

ourſelves unable rigorouſly to render all its elegance or ſtrength? Is not this rather a proof of the greateſt antiquity? And, if people will inſiſt upon trifles, I would gladly aſk, whether, of ſo many places where may be ſome difficulty, any one has ever been ſettled by reaſoning and conjecture? The world has adhered to the faith of the copies; and, as tradition has never ſuffered a poſſibility of ſound doctrines being altered, it has judged, that other faults, if any were, would ſerve onely to prove, that nothing has been there innovated by deſign.

But laſtly, and here lies the ſtreſs of the objection; are not ſome things added to the text of Moſes, and how comes it that we find his death at the end of the book aſcribed to him? What wonder that thoſe who continued his hiſtory, have added his happy end to the reſt of his actions, in order to make one body of the whole? Other additions, let us ſee what they are. Is there any new law or ceremony, doctrine, miracle, or prediction? None are ſo much as dreamed of; there is not the ſmalleſt ſurmiſe, the ſmalleſt ſign of any; this had been to add to the work of God: the law had forbid it, and horrid had been the ſcandal it would have occaſioned. What then? A genealogy begun may have been continued; or a town's name, changed by time, may have been explained; on occaſion of the manna with which the people was fed forty years, the time when that heavenly food ceaſed, may have been marked; and this fact, written

Deut. iv. 2. xii. 12.

Joſ. v. 12. Exod. xvi. 35. afterwards in another book, may have remained, by way of remark, in that of Moſes, as an allowed and public fact, of which all the people were witneſſes: four or five ſuch remarks, made by Joſhua, Samuel, or ſome prophet of like antiquity, reſpecting onely notorious facts, and facts where no difficulty could be, have naturally ſlipt into the text, and the ſame tradition may have brought them to us with the reſt; ſtraightway all ſhall be loſt: Ezra ſhall be arrained, though the Samaritan, where thoſe remarks are found, ſhows us, that they have an antiquity, not onely beyond Ezra, but beyond the ſchiſm of the ten tribes! No matter, all muſt fall upon Ezra. If thoſe remarks were of an older date, the Pentateuch would be alſo more ancient than it ought; nor could we enough revere the antiquity of a book, the very notes of which ſhould be of ſo long a ſtanding. Therefore Ezra ſhall have done every thing: Ezra ſhall have forgot that he was making Moſes ſpeak, and ſhall have made him write ſo groſsly, as already come to paſs, what happened not till after his death. A whole work ſhall be convicted of ſpuriouſneſs from this ſingle paſſage; the authority of ſo many ages, and the public teſtimony, ſhall no longer avail him; as if, on the contrary, it were not evident, that thoſe remarks, which the cavillers lay hold of, are a freſh proof of the ſincerity and fidelity, not onely of thoſe who made them, but even of thoſe who tranſcribed them. Was ever the authority, not to ſay,

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of a divine book, but of any book, tried upon ſo ſlight arguments? No matter: the Scripture is a book offenſive to mankind; it would oblige men to ſubmit their underſtanding to God, and to curb their unruly paſſions: it therefore muſt periſh, and fall at any rate a ſacrifice to libertiniſm.

Moreover, do not imagine that impiety runs unneceſſarily into all the abſurdities you have ſeen. If, contrary to the teſtimony of mankind, and contrary to the rules of right reaſon, ſhe exerts herſelf to deprive the Pentateuch and prophecies of their ever acknowleged authors, and to controvert their dates; it is that the dates are every thing in the matter, for two reaſons: firſt, becauſe books full of ſo miraculous facts, which are there ſeen clothed with their moſt peculiar circumſtances, and advanced not onely as public, but even as preſent, could they have been confuted, would have carried their condemnation along with them; and, inſtead of ſupporting themſelves by their own weight, would have fallen of themſelves long ago: ſecondly, becauſe, their dates being once fixed, we can no longer efface the infallible mark of divine inſpiration which they bear ſtamped upon them, in the great number and long ſeries of memorable predictions, with which we find them replete.

It is in order to evade theſe miracles and predictions, that the profane have fallen into all the abſurdities which have ſurpriſed you. But let them not think to eſcape God; he

has reſerved for his Scripture a mark of divinity that is proof againſt all attacks: the harmony of the two Teſtaments. It is undiſputed, at leaſt, that the Old Teſtament was written before the New. Here is no new Ezra, to have perſwaded the Jews to contrive or falſify their Scripture in favor of the Chriſtians whom they perſecuted. There needs no more. The harmony of the two Teſtaments aſcertains each divine. They have both the ſame deſign, both the ſame tendency: one prepares the way to perfection, which the other plainly exhibits: one lays the foundation, the other finiſhes the ſtructure: in a word, one foretels what the other ſhows accompliſhed.

Thus all times are united, and an eternal ſcheme of divine providence is revealed to us. The tradition of the Jewiſh, and that of the Chriſtian people, make together but one and the ſame courſe of religion: the Scriptures of the two Teſtaments make therefore but one and the ſame body, one and the ſame book.

And, becauſe the diſcuſſion of the particular predictions, though in themſelves full of light, depends greatly on facts that every one cannot equally follow, God was pleaſed to ſelect ſome, which he has rendered ſenſible to the moſt ignorant. Thoſe eminent, thoſe ſhining facts, of which the whole world is witneſs, are the facts which I have hitherto endeavored to trace with you; namely, the deſolation of the Jews, and the converſion of the Gentiles, which happened together, and both

both preciſely at the time that the goſpel was preached, and JESUS CHRIST appeared.

Theſe three particulars united in the order of time, were ſtill much more ſo in the order of God's counſels. You have ſeen them go together in the ancient prophecies; but JESUS CHRIST, the faithful interpreter of the propheeies, and of the will of his father, has ſtill better expounded that connexion in his goſpel. He does it in the parable of the vineyard, ſo familiar to the prophets. The houſeholder had planted that vineyard, true religion, founded upon his covenant; and let it out to huſbandmen, to the Jews. To gather in the fruit of it, he ſends at ſundry times his ſervants, the prophets. Thoſe wicked huſbandmen put them to death. His goodneſs moves him to ſend them his own ſon. Him they handle ſtill worſe than the ſervants. At laſt he takes his vineyard from them, and gives it to other huſbandmen: he takes from them the grace of his covenant, to beſtow it on the Gentiles. Matt. xxi. 33.

Theſe three particulars were therefore to concur, the ſending of the Son of God, the reprobation of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles. There needs no more comment on the parable, which the event has interpreted.

You have heard the Jews confeſs, that the kingdom of Judah, and the ſtate of their republic, began to decline in the days of Herod, and when JESUS CHRIST came into the world. But, if the alterations they made in

the law of God drew upon them ſo viſible a decay of power, their utter deſolation, which endures to this day, muſt have been the puniſhment of a greater crime.

The crime is viſibly their ingratitude to that Meſſiah, who came to inſtruct and deliver them. So, ever ſince that time, has a yoke of iron been upon their necks; and they doutleſs would ſink under it, did not God preſerve them to turn one day to the Meſſiah whom they have crucified.

Behold then one poſitive and public fact, the total overthrow of the Jewiſh ſtate in the time of JESUS CHRIST. The converſion of the Gentiles, which was to happen in the ſame period, is no leſs aſcertained. At the ſame time that the ancient worſhip is deſtroyed in Jeruſalem with the temple, idolatry is attacked on all ſides; and nations, that ſo many thouſand years forgot their Creator, awaken from ſo deep a lethargy.

And, that every thing may agree, the ſpiritual promiſes are unfolded by the preaching of the Goſpel, at the time that the Jewiſh people, who have received onely temporal ones, manifeſtly reprobated for their unbelief, and captive all over the earth, have no more human greatneſs to expect. Then heaven is promiſed to thoſe who ſuffer for righteouſneſs' ſake; the ſecrets of a future ſtate are diſcloſed; and true bleſſedneſs is exhibited, far from that abode, where death reigns, where ſin and all evils abound.

If

If we diſcover not here one continued deſign, if we ſee not one order in the counſels of God; who prepares, from the beginning of the world, what he finiſhes in the fulneſs of time; and who, under various ſtates, but with an ever conſtant ſucceſſion, perpetuates, in the ſight of the whole world, the holy ſociety by whom he will be ſerved; we deſerve to ſee nothing, but to be delivered up to our own hardneſs of heart, as to the juſteſt and moſt rigorous of all inflictions.

That this progreſſion of the people of God might be evident to the leaſt diſcerning, God renders it ſenſible, nay palpable, by facts, of which no man can be ignorant, who does not wilfully ſhut his eyes to the truth. The Meſſiah is expected by the Hebrews; he comes and calls the Gentiles, as foretold. The people, that acknowleges him come, is incorporated with the people that expected him, without there being a moment's interval. This people is ſpred over the earth: the Gentiles are continually coming in; and againſt that church, which JESUS CHRIST built upon a rock, all the powers of hell never have prevailed.

What conſolation to the children of God! but what conviction of the truth, when they ſee, that, from him who ſo worthily fills at this day the firſt ſee of the church, we aſcend, without interruption, to St. Peter, appointed by JESUS CHRIST the chief of the apoſtles: whence, by reſuming the high-prieſts that ſerved under the law, we go up

to

to Aaron and Moſes; thence to the patriarchs; and to the origin of the world! what progreſſion, what tradition, what wonderful concatenation! If our mind, naturally uncertain, and become by its uncertainties the ſport of its own reaſonings, has need, in points that regard ſalvation, to be fixed and determined by ſome certain authority; what greater authority than that of the Catholic Church, who centers in herſelf all the authority of paſt ages, and the ancient traditions of mankind up to its firſt origin?

Thus the ſociety which JESUS CHRIST, expected through all former ages, at laſt founded upon the rock, and where the apoſtles and their ſucceſſors are, by his appointment, to preſide, juſtifies itſelf by its own ſeries, and bears in its eternal duration the mark of the hand of God.

And ſo is it this ſucceſſion, to which no hereſy, no ſect, no other ſociety than God's church, has ever been able to pretend. Falſe religions have made ſhift to imitate the church in many things, and eſpecially by ſaying, like her, that it was God who founded them; but this aſſertion, in their mouth, is an empty boaſt. For, if God, having created man in his own image, never diſdained to teach the means of ſerving and pleaſing him; whatever ſect does not ſhow its ſucceſſion from the beginning of the world, is not of God.

Here fall, at the feet of the church, all the ſocieties and ſects, which men have eſtabliſhed within or without Chriſtianity. For inſtance,

inſtance, the falſe prophet of the Arabians might well call himſelf the Sent of God; and, after deceiving nations ſupremely ignorant, he might take advantage of the diviſions in his neighborhood, to extend, by force of arms, a religion wholely ſenſual. But he neither durſt pretend that he had been expected, nor indeed could he claim, either to his perſon, or to his religion, any real or apparent connexion with paſt ages. The expedient, he deviſed to evade this, was new. Leſt any ſhould incline to ſearch the ſcriptures of the Chriſtians for vouchers of his miſſion, like thoſe which JESUS CHRIST found in the ſcriptures of the Jews, he gave out, that both Chriſtians and Jews had falſified all their books. His ignorant followers took his word for it, ſix hundred years after JESUS CHRIST; and he proclaimed himſelf, not onely without any previous teſtimony, but even without either himſelf or his adherents daring to pretend, or to promiſe, any ſenſible miracle, that might authoriſe his miſſion. In like manner the hereſiarchs, who founded new ſects among the Chriſtians, might well render faith eaſier, as leſs ſubmiſſive, by denying the myſteries that paſs the ſenſes. They might well dazzle men by their eloquence, and, under the ſhow of piety, move them by their paſſions, engage them by their intereſts, allure them by novelty and libertiniſm, whether of the mind, or even of the ſenſes; in a word, they might eaſily deceive either themſelves or others: for nothing is more

more natural to man. But, beſides that they could not even boaſt of having wrought any miracle in public, nor reduce their religion to poſitive facts of which their followers were eye-witneſſes; there is always one unlucky circumſtance, which they have never been able to palliate; namely, that of their newneſs. It will ever be viſible to the whole world, that they, and the ſect they have planted, have broken off from that great body and ancient church, which JESUS CHRIST founded, where the apoſtles and their ſucceſſors held the firſt places, in which all ſects have found them eſtabliſhed. The moment of ſeparation will always be ſo noted, that the heretics themſelves ſhall not be able to diſown it, and ſhall not dare ſo much as pretend to derive themſelves from the ſource, by a ſtream that has never known interruption. This is the inevitable weakneſs of all the ſects that men have ſet up. None can change paſt ages, or give themſelves predeceſſors, or make themſelves to have found them in poſſeſſion. The Catholic Church alone fills all preceding ages with a ſeries that cannot be diſputed her. The law is the forerunner of the goſpel; the ſucceſſion of Moſes and the patriarchs makes but one and the ſame ſeries with that of JESUS CHRIST: to be expected, to come, to be acknowleged by a poſterity laſting as the world; this is the character of the Meſſiah in whom we believe;

Heb. xiii. 8. *Jeſus Chriſt the ſame yeſterday, and to-day, and for ever.*

Thus,

Thus, beſide the advantage the church of CHRIST has, of being alone founded upon miraculous and divine facts, that were written openly, and without fear of being controverted, at the very time they happened; there is, in favor of ſuch as did not live in thoſe times, an everlaſting miracle, which confirms the truth of all the reſt; and that is, the continuity of religion ever victorious over the errors that have endeavored to deſtroy her. To this you may add another continuity; that of the viſible chaſtiſement on the Jews, who have not received the CHRIST promiſed to their fathers.

They continue nevertheleſs to expect him, and their ever diſappointed expectation makes a part of their puniſhment. They look for him, and ſhow by ſo doing that he has been ever looked for. Condemned by their own books, they aſcertain the truth of religion; they bear, ſo to ſpeak, its whole ſeries written upon their forehead: at one glance we ſee what they have been, why they are as we ſee them, and for what they are reſerved.

Thus four or five authentic facts, clearer than the light of the ſun, manifeſt our religion as ancient as the world. They conſequently demonſtrate, that it has no other author than him, who laid the foundations of the univerſe; who, holding all things in the hollow of his hand, alone could commence and carry on a deſign that comprehends all ages.

We

We need therefore no more wonder, as uſually, that God propoſes to our belief ſo many things ſo worthy of him, though impenetrable to human underſtanding. But rather may we wonder, that, the faith being built upon ſo ſure and ſo manifeſt an authority, there ſhould ſtill remain any blind and unbelieving perſons in the world.

Our diſorderly paſſions, our attachment to our ſenſes, and our unconquerable pride, are the cauſe: we chooſe rather to run all hazards, than to put a conſtraint upon ourſelves; we chooſe rather to ſtagnate in our ignorance, than to confeſs it; we chooſe rather to gratify a vain curioſity, and to indulge in our untoward minds the liberty of thinking what we pleaſe, than to bend under the yoke of divine authority.

Hence are there ſo many unbelievers; and God ſo permits it for the inſtruction of his children. Without the blind, without the ſavage, without the infidels, that remain in the very boſom of Chriſtianity, we ſhould not be duly ſenſible of the deep corruption of our nature, or of the abyſs whence JESUS CHRIST has delivered us. Were not his ſacred truth gainſaid, we ſhould not ſee the miracle that makes it ſtand faſt amid ſo much contradiction; and we ſhould at length forget, that by grace we are ſaved. Now the unbelief of ſome humbles others; and the rebels, that oppoſe the deſigns of God, make the power conſpicuous, by which, independantly

dantly of all elſe, he accompliſhes the promiſes he made to his church.

Why then delay ſubmiſſion? Do we wait till God ſhall work new miracles; till he render them of none effect by continuing them; till he accuſtom our eyes to them, as to the courſe of the ſun, and to all the other wonders of nature? or do we wait till the profane and the perverſe be ſilent; till good men and libertines bear equal teſtimony to truth; till all, with one accord, prefer her to their paſſion; and till falſe learning, which novelty alone makes admired, ceaſe to delude mankind? Is it not enough that we ſee none can combat religion, without betraying, by prodigious abſurdities, the diſorder of their reaſon; and that they no longer hold out, but through preſumption or ignorance? Shall not the church, victorious over ages and errors, be able to vanquiſh in our minds the pitiful arguments brought againſt her; and ſhall not the divine promiſes, which we daily ſee accompliſhed in her, have power to raiſe us above the ſenſes?

Let us not be told, that thoſe promiſes remain in ſuſpence; and that, as they reach to the end of the world, then onely may we boaſt of having ſeen their accompliſhment. For, on the contrary, what is paſt aſſures us of what is to come. So many ancient predictions, ſo viſibly accompliſhed, evince that there is nothing that ſhall not be accompliſhed; and that the church, againſt whom the gates of hell, according to the promiſe of the

Son of God, never can prevail, shall stand fast till the consummation of ages, since Jesus Christ, who is true in all, has set no other bounds to her duration.

The same promises secure to us the future life. God, who shows himself so faithful in accomplishing what concerns this world, will be no less so in accomplishing what concerns the next, for which all we see is but a preparation; and the church shall be on earth immutable and invincible, until, her children being gathered in, she be transported entire into heaven, which is her true abode.

For those who shall be excluded that heavenly city, an eternal vengeance is reserved; and, after losing, through their own fault, a blisful eternity, nothing shall remain for them but an eternity of woe.

Thus the counsels of God terminate in an immutable state; his promises and threatenings are alike certain; and what he executes in time, ensures what he commands us to hope or to fear in eternity.

This is what we learn from the series of religion compendiously laid before you. By time she conducts us to eternity. You see a constant order in all the designs of God, and a visible mark of his power in the perpetual duration of his people. You find that the church has an ever-standing stem, from which none can separate without being lost; and, that those who, united to this root, bring forth works worthy of their faith, secure to themselves eternal life.

Study

Study then, SIR, with attention ſtudy this progreſſion of the church, which ſo clearly aſcertains to you all the promiſes of God. Whatever breaks this chain, whatever quits this line, whatever ſtarts up of itſelf, and comes not in virtue of the promiſes made to the church from the beginning of the world, ought to excite your horror. Employ all your powers to recall into this unity whatever has ſwerved from it, and to gain reverence to the church, by which the Holy Ghoſt pronounces his oracles.

The glory of your anceſtors is not onely never to have forſaken her, but to have ever ſupported her; and ſo to have earned the name of her eldeſt ſons, which is doutleſs the moſt glorious of all their titles.

I need not ſpeak to you of Clovis, of Charles the great, or Lewis the holy. Conſider onely the time in which you live, and from what father God has given you to ſpring. A king, ſo great in every thing, diſtinguiſhes himſelf more by his faith than by his other admirable qualities. He protects religion, both at home and abroad, and to the uttermoſt ends of the world. His laws are one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks of the church. His authority, revered as much for his perſonal merit, as for the majeſty of his ſcepter, never ſupports itſelf more powerfully than when it defends the cauſe of God. Blaſphemy is no more to be heard; impiety trembles before him: he is the king pointed by Solomon, *who ſcattereth all evil with his eyes*. If he attacks hereſy by ſo many Prov. xx. 8.

ways, and even more than did ever his predeceſſors, it is not that he fears for his throne; every thing is quiet under his feet, and his arms are dreaded over the univerſe: but it is that he loves his people; and that, finding himſelf exalted, by the hand of God, to a power which nothing on this globe can equal, he knows no more glorious uſe of it than to render it ſubſervient to the healing of the wounds of the church.

Imitate, then, SIR, ſo noble a pattern, and hand it down to your deſcendants. Recommend to their care the church even more than that great empire, which your anceſtors have governed ſo many ages. Let your auguſt houſe, the firſt of the world in dignity, be the firſt in maintaining the rights of God, and in extending through the earth the reign of JESUS CHRIST, who gives it to reign with ſo much glory.

PART THE THIRD.

THE PROGRESSION OF EMPIRES.

ALTHOUGH there be nothing comparable to that progreſſion of the true church, which I have repreſented to you, the progreſſion of empires, which I come now,

SIR,

SIR, to ſet before your eyes, is of no leſs conſequence, I ſay not onely to great princes like you, but even to private perſons, who contemplate in thoſe great objects the ſecrets of divine providence.

The revolutions of empires are ordered by providence, and ſerve to humble the ſpirit of princes.

First, thoſe empires have for the moſt part a neceſſary connexion with the hiſtory of the people of God. God made uſe of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, to chaſtiſe that people; of the Perſians, to reſtore it; of Alexander and his firſt ſucceſſors, to protect it; of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his ſucceſſors, to exerciſe it; of the Romans, to ſupport its liberty againſt the kings of Syria, who breathed nothing but its deſtruction. The Jews continued, until JESUS CHRIST, under the power of the ſame Romans. When they diſowned and crucified him, thoſe ſame Romans lent an unwitting hand to the divine vengeance, and exterminated that ungrateful people. God, who had reſolved to gather at the ſame time the new people, from among all nations, did firſt unite both ſeas and lands under the ſame empire. The commerce of ſo many different nations, formerly ſtrangers to one another, and afterwards united under the Roman dominion, was one of the moſt powerful means which providence uſed for the propagation of the goſpel. If the ſame Roman empire perſecuted, for three hundred years, that new people, which was growing on all hands within its verge; that perſecution confirmed the Chriſtian church, and made her glory ſhine

abroad with her faith and patience. At laſt the Roman empire yielded; and, finding ſomewhat more invincible than itſelf, received peaceably into its boſom that church, againſt which it had waged ſo long and ſo cruel a war. The emperors now employed their power, to bring every thing under the obedience of the church; and Rome became the head of the ſpiritual empire, which JESUS CHRIST would extend over the earth.

When the time was come that the Roman power muſt fall, and that that great empire, which had vainly promiſed itſelf eternity, was to undergo the fate of all others; Rome, though become a prey to barbarians, yet by her religion preſerved her ancient majeſty. The nations, that invaded the Roman empire, learned there by degrees, that Chriſtian piety, which has humaniſed them; and their kings, taking each in his nation the place of the emperors, found none of their titles more glorious than that of protector of the church.

But here muſt be diſcloſed to you the ſecret judgements of God upon the Roman empire, and upon Rome herſelf: a myſtery which the Holy Spirit revealed to St. John, and which that great apoſtle, evangeliſt, and prophet, has unfolded in the Apocalypſe. Rome, grown old in the worſhip of idols, had the utmoſt difficulty to get rid of them, even under the Chriſtian emperors; and the ſenate made a point of defending the gods of Romulus, to which it aſcribed

Zoſim. iv. Or. Symm. ap. Amb. tom. v. lib. v. ep. 30.

aſcribed all the victories of the ancient commonwealth. The emperors were peſtered with deputations from that great body, demanding the reſtoration of its idols, as judging that to turn away Rome from her old ſuperſtitions was to offer an indignity to the Roman name. Thus that aſſembly, compoſed of all the greateſt men of the empire, and an immenſe multitude of people, among whom the moſt powerful of Rome, could neither be cured of their errors by the preaching of the goſpel, nor by ſo viſible an accompliſhment of the ancient prophecies, nor yet by the converſion of almoſt all the reſt of the empire; nor, in fine, by that of the princes, all whoſe decrees ran in favor of Chriſtianity. On the contrary, they continued to load with reproaches the church of CHRIST, which they charged alſo, after the example of their fathers, with all the misfortunes that befel the empire; ever ready to renew the perſecutions, had they not been reſtrained by the emperors. Such was the ſtate of things in the fourth century of the church, and a hundred years after Conſtantine, when God at laſt called to mind the many bloody decrees of the ſenate againſt the faithful; and at the ſame time the furious outcries with which the whole Roman people, thirſting after Chriſtian blood, had ſo often made the Amphitheatre ring. He delivered up, therefore, to the Barbarians, that city *drunk with the blood of the martyrs*, as ſpeaks St. John. God renewed upon her the terrible

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 1.

Rev. xvii. 6.

terrible chaſtiſements which he had inflicted on Babylon: Rome herſelf is called by that name. This new Babylon, a faithful copy of the old, like her, elate with her victories, exulting in her delights and her riches, polluted by her idolatries, and a perſecuter of God's people, falls alſo, like her, by a mighty fall, and St. John ſings her overthrow. The glory of her conqueſts, which ſhe aſcribed to her gods, is taken from her: a prey to barbarians, ſhe is thrice, nay four times, taken, plundered, ſacked, deſtroyed. The ſword of the barbarians ſpares none but the Chriſtians. Another Rome, wholely Chriſtian, ariſes from the aſhes of the former; nor is it till after the inundation of the barbarians that we ſee JESUS CHRIST's victory completed over the Roman gods, which are not onely deſtroyed, but forgotten.

Rev. xvii. xviii.

Thus it is that the empires of the world have miniſtered to religion, and to the preſervation of the people of God: wherefore the ſame God, who cauſed the different ſtates of his people to be foretold by his prophets, cauſed the ſucceſſion of empires to be alſo predicted by them. You have ſeen the places where Nebuchadnezzar was pointed out as he, who was to come and puniſh the haughty nations, eſpecially the Jewiſh people, for their ingratitude to their Maker. You have heard Cyrus named, two hundred years before his birth, as him, who was to reſtore God's people, and to puniſh Babylon's pride. The deſtruction of Nineveh has been

no

no leſs clearly foretold. Daniel, in his admirable viſions, has made the empire of Babylon, that of the Medes and Perſians, that of Alexander and the Grecians, paſs away in a moment before you. The blaſphemies and cruelties of Antiochus Epiphanes have been there propheſied, as well as the miraculous victories of God's people over that violent perſecutor. We there ſee thoſe famous empires fall one after another; and the new empire which JESUS CHRIST was to eſtabliſh, is there ſo expreſsly marked, that poſſibility remains not of miſtaking it. It is the empire of the Saints of the Moſt High; the empire of the Son of Man; the empire that is to ſtand amidſt the ruin of all others, and to which alone eternity is promiſed.

The judgements of God upon the greateſt of this world's empires, that is, the Roman, have not been hid from us. You have juſt learned them from the mouth of St. John. Rome has felt the hand of God, and faln, like the reſt, an example of juſtice. But her lot proved happier than that of other cities. Purged by her calamities from each remnant of idolatry, ſhe ſtands but by Chriſtianity, which ſhe diſpenſes to the world.

Thus have all the great empires, that we have ſeen upon earth, concurred in different ways to the good of religion, and the glory of God, as God himſelf declared by his prophets.

When you read ſo often in their writings, that kings ſhall flock into the chnrch, and that

that they ſhall be protectors and nurſing fathers of her; by theſe words you immediately underſtand the emperors and other Chriſtian princes. And, as your royal anceſtors have ſignaliſed themſelves above all others, in protecting and extending the church of God, I ſhall not heſitate to aſſure you, that they, of all kings, are the moſt clearly foretold in thoſe illuſtrious prophecies.

God therefore, whoſe purpoſe was to make uſe of the various empires, to chaſtiſe or to exerciſe, to extend or protect his people, willing to make himſelf known for the author of ſo admirable a counſel, unfolded the ſecret to his prophets, and made them foretel what he had reſolved to execute. Wherefore, as the empires entered the order of God's deſigns upon the people whom he had choſen, the fortune of thoſe empires ſtands announced by the ſame oracles of the Holy Spirit, which foretel the ſucceſſion of the faithful people.

The more you ſhall accuſtom yourſelf to inveſtigate great things, and to trace them to their principles, the more will you be filled with admiration of thoſe counſels of providence. It concerns you, early to form idea's of them, which will daily grow clearer in your mind; and to learn to refer human things to the order of that eternal wiſdom, on which they depend.

God does not every day declare his will by his prophets, concerning the kings and monarchies, which he ſets up or pulls down.

But,

But, having done it ſo many times in thoſe great empires we have been treating, he ſhows us, by thoſe famous inſtances, how he acts in all others, and teaches kings theſe two fundamental truths; firſt, that it is he who forms kingdoms, to give them to whomſoever he will; and ſecondly, that he knows how to make them ſubſervient, in his own good time and order, to the deſigns he has upon his people.

This, SIR, ought to keep all princes in an entire dependance, and make them ever attentive to the commands of God, in order to lend a hand to what he purpoſes for his glory, upon every opportunity he preſents to them.

But this progreſſion of empires, even to conſider it in a merely human light, has great advantages; particularly to princes: as arrogance, the common companion of ſo eminent a ſtation, is ſo effectually humbled by the ſpectacle. For, if men learn moderation by ſeing kings die, how much more will they be ſtruck, when they behold kingdoms themſelves expire; and what can afford a more excellent leſſon of the vanity of human grandeur?

Thus, when you ſee paſs, as in an inſtant, before your eyes, not to ſay kings and emperors, but thoſe great empires, which have made the world tremble; when you ſee the Aſſyrians, old and new, the Medes, Perſians, Greeks, and Romans, preſent themſelves ſucceſſively before you; and fall, ſo

to

to ſpeak, one upon another: the dreadful wreck makes you ſenſible that nothing is ſolid among men, and that inconſtancy and agitation are the portion of human things.

II. The revolutions of empires have particular cauſes, which princes ought to ſtudy.

BUT, SIR, what will render this ſpectacle more uſeful and entertaining to you, is the reflexion you will make, not onely upon the riſe and fall of empires, but alſo upon the cauſes of their advancement and decline.

For the ſame God, who made the concatenation of the univerſe, and who, almighty in himſelf, has been pleaſed, for the ſake of order, that all the parts of that great whole ſhould depend on one another; that ſame God has alſo been pleaſed that the courſe of human things ſhould have its progreſſion and proportions: I mean, that men and nations have had qualities proportioned to the elevation for which they were deſigned; and that, except a few extraordinary caſes, in which God would have his hand appear alone, no great change has happened, that has not had its cauſes in preceding ages.

And, as in all affairs is that which prepares them, that which determines to undertake them, and that which makes them ſucceed, the true knowlege of hiſtory is to mark, in every period, thoſe ſecret diſpoſitions which have prepared great changes, and the important junctures that have brought thoſe changes to paſs.

Indeed, it is not ſufficient to look barely before one; that is, to conſider thoſe great events, that decide at once the fate of empires.

pires. He, that will thoroughly underſtand human affairs, muſt trace them higher; muſt obſerve the inclinations and manners, or, to ſay all in a word, the character, as well of the ruling nations in general, as of the princes in particular; and, in fine, of all the extraordinary men, who, by the importance of the part they have had to act in the world, have contributed, right or wrong, to the change of ſtates, and the fortune, good or bad, of the public.

For theſe important reflexions I have endeavored to prepare you in the firſt part of this treatiſe; you may there have obſerved the genius of the nations, and that of the great men who conducted them. The events, of any moment, have been exhibited; and, in order to keep you attentive to the chain of the great affairs of the world, which I wanted chiefly to make you underſtand, I have omitted many particular facts, of which the conſequences were not ſo conſiderable. But, becauſe our confining ourſelves to the progreſſion has made us paſs over many things ſo quickly, that we could not make the reflexions they deſerved, you are now to apply yourſelf to them with a more peculiar attention, and to accuſtom your mind to inveſtigate effects in their remoteſt cauſes.

You thus, SIR, will learn what is ſo neceſſary for you to know; that, though to conſider onely particular occurrences, fortune ſeems alone to decide the riſe and fall of empires; yet, to take in the whole, it happens

much with them as in play, where the most dexterous carries it at the long run.

And indeed, in that bloody game, where nations have disputed empire and power, she, who has foreseen the fartheſt, exerted herself the most, held out longest in toil, and, in fine, best known how to advance or retire upon occasion, has in the end had the advantage, and made fortunes self subservient to her designs.

Be unwearied therefore in examining the causes of great changes, as nothing will ever conduce so much to your instruction; but trace them, above all, in the progression of great empires, where the greatness of the events renders them more palpable.

III. The Scythians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians.

I SHALL not here count, among great empires, that of Bacchus, or that of Hercules, those renowned conquerors of the Indies and the East. Their histories have no certainty, their conquests have no coherence: we must leave them to be celebrated by the poets, who have made them the great subject of their fables.

Herod. l. i. Strab. lib. xi. Just. i. 1.

Neither shall I speak of the empire which Herodotus sies Madyes, not unlike the Indathyrses of Megasthenes and the Tanaus of Justin, established for a while in the greater Asia. The Scythians, whom that prince carried to war, made rather incursions than conquests. It was by accidentally pushing the Cimmerians, that they entered Media, beat the Medes, and dispossessed them of that part of Asia, where they

they had eſtabliſhed their dominion. Theſe new conquerors reigned there but eight and twenty years. Their impiety, avarice, and brutality made them loſe it; and Cyaxares, ſon of Phraortes, from whom they had conquered it, expelled them. This he did rather by addreſs than by force: being reduced to a corner of his kingdom, which the victors had overlooked, or perhaps had not been able to ſtorm, he waited patiently till thoſe brutal conquerors had excited the public hatred, and ruined themſelves by the diſorder of their government.

We find alſo in Strabo, who has taken him from the ſame Megaſthenes, a Thearchon, king of Ethiopia: this muſt be the Tirhakah of ſcripture, whoſe arms were formidable in the time of Sennacherib, king of Aſſyria. That prince penetrated as far as the pillars of Hercules, probably along the coaſt of Afric, and paſſed even into Europe. But what ſhould I ſay of a man, of whom we find but a word here and there in hiſtorians, and whoſe dominion has no continuity. Lib. xv. 2 Kings xix. 9.

The Ethiopians, whoſe king he was, were, according to Herodotus, the handſomeſt, and beſt made of all men. They had acute and ſtrong parts, but took little pains to cultivate them, placing their confidence in their robuſt bodies and brawny arms. Their kings were elective, and they always raiſed the talleſt and ſtrongeſt to the throne. Of their humor we may judge, by an action which Herodotus relates to us. When Cambyſes ſent Herod. lib. iii.

to them, with enſnaring view, ambaſſadors, and preſents, ſuch as the Perſians uſed to beſtow, purple, bracelets of gold, and compoſitions of perfumes; they made a mock of his preſents, in which they ſaw nothing uſeful for life; as well as of his ambaſſadors, whom they took for ſpies, as they were. But their king would alſo make a preſent, in his way, to the king of Perſia; and, taking up a bow, which a Perſian could hardly wield, far leſs draw, he bent it in the preſence of the ambaſſadors, and thus beſpoke them: "Hear "the counſel, which the king of Ethiopia "giveth to the king of Perſia. When the "Perſians ſhall be able to handle, as eaſily "as I have now done, a bow of this ſize and "ſtrength, let them come and attack the E-"thiopians, and let them bring more troops "than Cambyſes can muſter. In the mean "time, let them give thanks to the Gods, "who have not put into the heart of the "Ethiopians the deſire of ſtretching beyond "their own country." This ſaid, he unbended the bow, and gave it to the ambaſſadors. We cannot tell what might have been the event of the war: but Cambyſes, incenſed at the the anſwer, ſet out for Ethiopia like a madman, without order, without convoy, without diſcipline; and ſaw his army periſh for want of proviſions, in the midſt of the ſands, before it came near the enemy.

Thoſe people of Ethiopia were not however ſo juſt as they boaſted, nor ſo much confined to their own country. Their neighbors,

bors, the Egyptians, had often felt their power. Nothing is coherent in the counſels of thoſe ſavage and uncultivated nations: if nature there often begins fine ſentiments, ſhe never finiſhes them: ſo that there we ſee little to learn or to imitate. We ſhall therefore ſay no more about them, but proceed to poliſhed nations.

The Egyptians were the firſt, among whom the rules of government were known. That grave and ſerious nation underſtood at once the true end of polity, which is to render life commodious, and people happy. The ever uniform temperature of the clime made the underſtanding ſolid and ſteady. As virtue is the foundation of all ſociety, virtue they diligently cultivated. Their cardinal virtue was gratitude. The glory given them of being the moſt grateful of men, diſplays them alſo the moſt ſociable. Good offices are the bond of public and private union. He, who acknowleges favors, loves to beſtow them; and, ingratitude once baniſhed, the pleaſure of doing good remains ſo pure, that there is no being inſenſible to it. Their laws were ſimple, full of equity, and conducive to unite the citizens among themſelves. He, who had it in his power to ſave a perſon attacked, and did it not, was puniſhed with death as rigorouſly as the aſſaſſin. But, if there was no poſſibility of relieving the diſtreſſed, it behooved at leaſt to delate the author of the violence; and there were puniſhments appointed for thoſe, who neDiod. lib. i. ſect. 2.

Ibid.

glected this duty. Thus individuals proved the guard of each other, and the whole body of the ſtate was united againſt evil doers. It was not allowed to be uſeleſs to
Ibid. the ſtate: the law aſſigned each his employment, which deſcended from father to ſon. A man could neither have two, nor change his profeſſion; but then all profeſſions were honorable. There were neceſſarily ſome employments and perſons more conſiderable than others, as there muſt be eyes in the body. Their brightneſs does not make the feet, or the lower parts, contemptible: ſo, among the Egyptians, the prieſts and ſoldiers had peculiar marks of honor; but all trades, to the very meaneſt, were held in eſteem; and it was thought criminal to deſpiſe the citizens, whoſe labors, whatever they were, contributed to the public good. By this means all arts came to their perfection: honor, which foſters them, was every where mingled: every one did beſt what he had always ſeen done, and what he had ſolely practiſed from his infancy.

But one occupation was to be common; the ſtudy of the laws, and of wiſdom. Ignorance of the religion and polity of the country was excuſed in no ſtation. Moreover, each profeſſion had its diſtrict aſſigned it: from this aroſe no inconvenience in a country that was not large; and, in ſo beautiful an economy, the idle had no where to hide themſelves.

Herod. l. ii. Among ſo good laws, the moſt excellent was, that every-body was bred up in the ſpi-

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rit of obſerving them. A new cuſtom was a prodigy in Egypt; every thing went on always in one way; and the exact obſervance of ſmall matters maintained thoſe of greater moment: ſo never was a people that longer preſerved its uſages and laws. The order of their judicatures ſerved to keep up this ſpirit. Thirty judges were choſen out of the principal cities, to compoſe the court that judged the kingdom. None were to be ſeen in thoſe places of dignity, but perſons of the greateſt honor and gravity in the whole country. The prince appointed them certain revenues, that ſo, freed from domeſtic embarraſments, they might beſtow their whole time in enforcing the obſervance of the laws. Nothing did they get by law-ſuits; the making a trade of juſtice was yet a thing unthought of. To avoid impoſitions, affairs were diſcuſſed in that aſſembly by writing. There was dreaded that eloquence, which dazzles the judgement, and moves the paſſions. Truth could not be ſet forth in too dry a manner. The preſident of the ſenate wore a golden collar ſet with precious ſtones, whence hung a figure without eyes, which was called Truth. His putting it on was the ſignal for opening the ſeſſions. He moved it towards the party that was to gain his cauſe, and this was the form of pronouncing ſentence. One of the fineſt artifices of the Egyptians, to preſerve their ancient maxims, was, to clothe them with certain ceremonies, which imprinted them on the mind. Thoſe ceremonies were obſerved with due reflexion, nor did

Diod. l. i. ſect. 2. Plat. de leg. ii.

Diod. i. ſect. 2.

did the ſerious temper of the Egyptians ſuffer
Ibid. them to dwindle into empty forms. Thoſe who had no buſineſs, and led an innocent life, might avoid the ſcrutiny of that ſevere tribunal. But in Egypt was one ſort of trial altogether extraordinary, which nobody eſcaped. It is a conſolation on a death-bed, to leave ones name in eſteem among men; and, of all human bleſſings, this is the onely, which death cannot raviſh. But it was not allowed in Egypt indiſcriminately to praiſe all the dead; this honor was conferred by a public ſentence. The moment a man died, he was brought into judgement. The public accuſer was heard. If he proved that the conduct of the deceaſed had been bad, his memory was condemned, and himſelf deprived of burial. The people admired the power of the laws, which extended even after death; and every one, touched with the example, feared to diſgrace his memory and his family. But, if the defunct was not convicted of any miſdemeanor, he was buried honorably; and a panegyric was made upon him, without the leaſt mention of his birth. All Egypt was noble; nor were any praiſes there regarded, but ſuch as were won by merit.

Every one knows how curiouſly the Egyptians preſerved dead bodies. Their mummies are ſtill to be ſeen. Thus their gratitude to their parents was immortal: children, beholding the bodies of their anceſtors, called to mind their virtues which the public had acknowleged, and were animated

nimated to love the laws they had left them.

To prevent borrowing, whence proceed idleneſs, fraud, and quibble, king Aſychis made a decree, that no man ſhould borrow without mortgaging his father's body to the lender. It was at once impious and infamous, not ſpeedily to redeem ſo precious a pledge; and he, who died without diſcharging this duty, was denied ſepulture. Herod. l. iii. Diod. i. ſect. 2.

The kingdom was hereditary; but the king was bound, beyond others, to live according to the laws. Some were peculiar, which a king had digeſted, and which made a part of the ſacred books. Not that any thing was diſputed with the kings, or that any one had a right to controul them; on the contrary, they were honored as gods: but cuſtom had ſettled every thing, and they had no notion of living differently from their anceſtors. Thus they ſubmitted, without pain, not onely to have the quality and quantity of their eating and drinking preſcribed them, (for nothing was more common in Egypt, where every-body was ſober, and the very air inſpired temperance,) but even to have all their hours devoted to particular purpoſes. Upon waking at break of day, when the judgement is moſt diſtinct, and the thoughts cleareſt, they red their letters, in order to form a more adequate and truer notion of the affairs they had to decide. As ſoon as they were dreſſed, they went to ſacrifice at the temple. There, ſurrounded with their Ibid. Herod. ii. Diod. i. ſect. 2.

their whole court, and the victims laid upon the altar, they aſſiſted at a prayer, full of inſtruction; where the prieſt beſought the gods to beſtow upon the prince all royal virtues, that ſo he might be religious towards the gods, mild towards men, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, ſincere, liberal, maſter of himſelf, puniſhing below deſert, and rewarding beyond merit. The prieſt mentioned next the faults, to which kings were liable; but liable, he always ſuppoſed, onely through impoſition or ignorance; pouring imprecations upon the miniſters who gave them evil counſels, and diſguiſed the truth from them. Such was the manner of inſtructing the kings.

Ibid. It was judged, that reproaches did but ſour their minds; and that the moſt effectual way of inſtilling virtue into them, was, to hint their duty in praiſes conformable to the laws, and ſolemnly pronounced before the gods. The prayer and ſacrifice over, in the holy books were red, to the king, the counſels and actions of great men; that he might govern his kingdom by their maxims, and maintain the laws which had rendered his predeceſſors, as well as their ſubjects, happy.

What ſhows that thoſe admonitions were ſeriouſly given and attended to, is, that they had their deſired effect. Among the Thebans, that is, in the chief dynaſty, where the laws were in full force, and which at laſt became miſtreſs of all the reſt, the greateſt men were the kings. The two Mercuries, authors of the ſciences, and of all the inſtitutions

tutions of the Egyptians; one who lived near the time of the flood, and the other whom they called *Triſmegiſtus*, or thrice great, a contemporary of Moſes, were both kings of Thebes. All Egypt profited by their lights, and to their inſtructions Thebes ows her having had ſo few bad princes. Theſe were forborn with during their life-time; for ſo the public peace required: but they were not exempted from the trial, that was to be undergone after death. Some were deprived of burial; but of this we ſee few inſtances: on the contrary, moſt of the kings were ſo beloved by their people, that every one lamented their death, as much as that of his father or of his children.

Herod. l. ii. Diod. i. ſect. 2. Ibid.

This cuſtom, of judging kings after their death, appeared ſo ſalutary to the people of God, that they always practiſed it. We read in ſcripture, that wicked kings were deprived of the burial of their fathers; and we learn from Joſephus, that that cuſtom continued even in the days of the Aſmoneans. It gave the kings to know, that, if their majeſty ſets them above human judgement during their life, they muſt come to it at laſt, when death has levelled them with other mortals.

Ant. xiii. 23.

The Egyptians had an inventive genius; but they applied it to uſeful objects. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions; and had left her ignorant of ſcarce any thing, that could render life commodious and eaſy. I cannot allow the Egyptians the glory they have given their Oſiris, of having

Diod. lib. i. ſect. 1. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

invented

invented huſbandry; for we find it ever in the countries adjacent to that, whence mankind was propagated; nor can we dout but it was known from the beginning of the world. And indeed the Egyptians themſelves give ſo great an antiquity to Oſiris, that they have evidently confounded his time with that of the commencement of the univerſe; and aſcribed to him things, of which the origin went far beyond all the times known in their hiſtory. But, if the Egyptians did not invent agriculture, or the other arts which we ſee before the flood, they brought them to ſuch perfection, and took ſo great pains to reſtore them among the nations, where barbarouſneſs had buried them in oblivion, that their glory is not much leſs than if they had been the inventors.

There are even ſome very important ones, the invention of which cannot be diſputed them. As their country was level, and their atmoſphere always clear and unclouded, they were the firſt who obſerved the courſe of the ſtars. They likewiſe firſt regulated the year. Theſe obſervations led them naturally into arithmetic; and, if what Plato ſays be true, that the ſun and moon taught men the knowlege of numbers, that regular computation began by that of days, months, and years, the Egyptians were the firſt who attended to thoſe wonderful teachers. The planets and other ſtars were no leſs known to them; and they found out that great year, which brings back the whole heavens to their firſt point.

Plat. Epin. Diod. i. ſect. 2. Herod. lib. ii.

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In order to know again their own lands, that were yearly overflowed by the Nile, they were obliged to have recourſe to ſurveying, which ſoon made them acquainted with geometry. They were great obſervers of nature, which, in ſo ſerene an air, and under ſo hot a ſun, was extremely vigorous and fruitful. And this it was, that occaſioned phyſic to be invented or perfected by them. Thus all the ſciences were had in honor among them. The inventors of things uſeful received, both in their life-time, and after their death, condign rewards of their labors. This it was that conſecrated the works of their two Mercuries, and made them be regarded as divine books. The firſt library we read of, was that of Egypt. The title given it made people curious to go in, and to penetrate its ſecrets: it was called, *The treaſure of the remedies of the ſoul.* For the ſoul there cured herſelf of ignorance, the moſt dangerous of her diſeaſes, and the ſource of all others.

Diod. lib. i. ſect. 2.

Diod. i. ſect. 2. Herod. in. init.

Diod. lib. i. ſect. 2.

One of the things moſt ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of the Egyptians, was a regard and love for their country. She was, ſaid they, the reſidence of the gods, who had reigned there many thouſand years; ſhe was the mother of man and beaſt, which the land of Egypt, watered by the Nile, had brought forth, while the reſt of nature was barren. The prieſts, who compoſed the hiſtory of Egypt of that immenſe ſeries of ages, which they filled with nothing but fables and the genealogies of their gods, did ſo in order to

Plat. in Tim.

Diod. i. ſect. 1.

imprint on the minds of the people the antiquity and nobleneſs of their country. For their real hiſtory was contained within moderate bounds; but they thought it glorious to loſe themſelves in an abyſs of time, which ſeemed to bring them near to eternity.

Yet the love of their country had more ſolid foundations. Egypt was indeed the fineſt country in the world, the moſt plentiful by nature, and beſt improved by art; the richeſt, moſt commodious, and moſt adorned by the care and magnificence of her kings.

Nothing was not great in their deſigns and works. What they made of the Nile is incredible. It ſeldom rains in Egypt; but that river, which waters the whole by its regular overflows, conveys to her the rains and ſnows of other countries. In order to multiply ſo beneficial a river, Egypt was croſſed by an infinity of canals of an incredible length and breadth. The Nile carried fruitfulneſs everywhere with his ſalutary waters, united cities to one another, and the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, kept up commerce both within and without the kingdom, and fortified it againſt the enemy: ſo that he was at once the nouriſher and defender of Egypt. The country was abandoned to him: but the cities raiſed with immenſe labor, and lifting their heads like ſo many iſlands in the midſt of the waters, looked down with joy upon all the plain overflowed, and at the ſame time fertilized, by the Nile. When he ſwelled beyond

Herod. ii. Diod. i. ſect. 2.

yond meaſure, great lakes, dug by the kings, offered their boſoms to the ſpredding waters. They had their outlets prepared; large ſluces opened or ſhut them according to occaſion; and the waters, having their retreat, remained upon the lands no longer than was neceſſary to fatten them.

Such was the uſe of that vaſt lake, which was called the lake of Myris or Meris: this was the name of the king, who had made it. One is aſtoniſhed to read, what is nevertheleſs certain, that it was about a hundred and eighty leagues round. That too many good lands might not there be loſt, it was extended chiefly on the ſide of Libya. The fiſhery of it yielded immenſe ſums to the prince; and ſo, when the earth produced nothing, treaſures were drawn from her by covering her with water. Two pyramids, bearing two coloſſal ſtatues, one of Meris, the other of his conſort, roſe three hundred feet in the middle of the lake, and occupied the like ſpace under the waters. Thus they ſhowed that they had been erected before the pit was filled, and demonſtrated that a lake of ſuch extent had been made by mens hands under one prince. Herod. & Diod. Ibid.

Thoſe, who do not know to what degree the earth may be improved, take for a fable what is related of the number of the cities of Egypt. Their richneſs was equally incredible. Not one of them but was full of magnificent temples and ſtately palaces. The architecture everywhere exhibited that noble Herod. ii. Diod. i. 2.

ſimplicity, and that greatneſs which fills the mind. Long galleries diſplayed ſculptures, that were afterwards models to Greece. Thebes might vy with the fineſt cities upon earth. Her hundred gates, ſung by Homer, are known to all the world. She was no leſs populous than extenſive; and it has been ſaid, that ſhe could ſend out at once ten thouſand fighting men at every one of her gates. Suppoſing a little exaggeration in this number, it is however undouted that her people were innumerable. The Greeks and Romans have celebrated her magnificence and grandeur, even though they ſaw but her ruins: ſo auguſt were her very remains.

Pomp. Mela i. 9.

Strab. xvii. Tac. Ann. ii. 60.

Had our travellers penetrated as far as the place where this city was built, they would doutleſs have ſtill found ſomething incomparable in her ruins; for the works of the Egyptians were made to ſtand againſt time. Their ſtatues were coloſſes. Their columns were immenſe. Egypt aimed at the grand, and would ſtrike the eye afar, but ever pleaſing it by the juſtneſs of the proportions. In the Sayd have been diſcovered (you well know that this is the name of the Thebaid) temples and palaces almoſt entire, where thoſe columns and ſtatues are numberleſs. One palace eſpecially is admired there, the remains of which ſeem to have ſtood, onely to eclipſe the glory of the world's other grandeſt works. Four walks longer than ſight, and bounded on each ſide by ſphinxes of a ſubſtance as rare as their ſize is remarkable,

Herod. & Diod. loc. cit.

Voyages imp par M. Thevenot.

able, ſerve as avenues to four porticoes, of a ſtupendous height. What magnificence, and what extent! yet thoſe, who have deſcribed to us that prodigious edifice, have not had time to go round it, and are not even ſure that they have ſeen one half of it; but all they ſaw was ſurpriſing. A hall, which probably was the middle of that ſtately palace, was ſupported by a hundred and twenty columns, thirty-ſix foot thick, proportionably tall, and intermixed with obeliſks, which ſo many ages have not been able to overthrow. The very colors, (and they ſooneſt feel the power of time,) are ſtill undefaced amid the ruins of that admirable ſtructure, and there preſerve their livelineſs: ſo much had Egypt the art of imprinting the character of immortality upon all her works. Now that the king's * name penetrates to the moſt unknown parts of the world, and that prince extends as far his reſearches into the nobleſt works both of nature and art, were it not an object worthy that noble curioſity, to diſcover the beauties which the Thebaid contains in her deſarts, and to enrich our architecture with the inventions of Egypt? † What power and what art muſt have united, to make ſuch a country the wonder of the world! and what beauties ſhould we not find, could we come at the royal city; ſince

* Lewis the Fourteenth.

† Which Mr. Dawkins and Mr. Wood, almoſt a century after, executed.

ſo far from it we diſcover ſo wonderful things?

To Egypt alone it belonged to erect monuments for poſterity. Her obeliſks are, at this day, as much for their beauty as their height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power, giving up competition, thought it ſufficient for its grandeur to borrow the monuments of their kings.

Egypt had yet ſeen no large ſtructures but the tower of Babel, when ſhe imagined her pyramids, which, by their ſhape as well as ſize, ſtand triumphant over time and barbarians. The good taſte of the Egyptians made them ever after love ſolidity and regularity plain. Is it not that nature leads of herſelf to that ſimple manner, to which it is ſo hard to return, when the taſte has been vitiated by a whimſical novelty and boldneſs? Be this as it will, the Egyptians loved onely a regular boldneſs; they ſought the new and ſurpriſing in the infinite variety of nature, and boaſted that they alone, like the gods, had performed immortal works. The inſcriptions on the pyramids were no leſs noble than the workmanſhip. They addreſſed themſelves to the ſpectators. One of theſe pyramids, built of brick, warned them by its title not to compare it with others; ſince *it was as far above all pyramids, as Jupiter was above all gods.*

Herod. 2.

But let men do their utmoſt, their nothingneſs everywhere appears. Thoſe pyramids were tombs; and the very kings, who built them,

Herod. ibid. Diod. 1. sect. 2.

them, had not power to be buried in them; nor did they enjoy their own ſepulchres.

I ſhould not mention that fine palace, which was called the Labyrinth, did not Herodotus, who ſaw it, aſſure us that it was more ſurpriſing than the pyramids. It had been built on the ſide of the lake of Meris, and a proſpect given it ſuitable to its grandeur. But, indeed, it was not ſo much one palace, as a magnificent pile of twelve palaces regularly diſpoſed, that had a communication with each other. A range of fifteen hundred chambers, intermixed with terraſſes, ſurrounded twelve halls, and left no egreſs to ſuch as had the curioſity to viſit them. As many were the buildings under ground. Theſe ſubterraneans were deſtined for the burial-place of the kings, and likewiſe (who could ſpeak it without ſhame, and without deploring the blindneſs of the human mind?) to entertain the ſacred crocodiles, which that nation, in other reſpects ſo wiſe, made her gods. Herod. & Diod. ibid.

You are amazed to ſee ſo much magnificence in the ſepulchres of Egypt. But, beſides their being erected as ſacred monuments, to convey to future ages the memory of great princes, they were looked upon as eternal habitations. The houſes were called inns, where people were onely paſſengers, and during a life too ſhort to terminate their deſigns: but the true homes were the tombs, in which they were to dwell through endleſs ages. Diod. ibid.

Moreover,

Moreover, it was not on inanimate things that Egypt beſtowed moſt pains. Her nobleſt toils and moſt excellent art conſiſted in forming men. Of this was Greece ſo perſwaded, that her greateſt men, a Homer, a Pythagoras, a Plato, Lycurgus even, and Solon, thoſe two great lawgivers, and others needleſs to name, went to learn wiſdom in Egypt. God was pleaſed that Moſes himſelf ſhould be *learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians:* thence it was that he began to be *mighty in words and in deeds.* True wiſdom avails itſelf of every thing; nor will God have thoſe, whom he inſpires, to neglect the human means, which alſo proceed from him in their way.

Diod. ibid. Plut. de Iſid. Acts vii. 22.

Thoſe ſages of Egypt had ſtudied the regimen, that makes ſolid minds, robuſt bodies, fruitful wives, and vigorous children. By this means the people grew in number, and in ſtrength. The country was naturally healthful; but philoſophy had taught them, that nature requires to be aſſiſted. There is an art in forming the body, as well as the mind. This art, which we through careleſſneſs have loſt, was well known to the ancients; and Egypt had early found it. For this excellent purpoſe ſhe chiefly made uſe of temperance and exerciſe. In a large field of battle, which was viewed by Herodotus, the ſculls of the Perſians, eaſy to be pierced, and thoſe of the Egyptians, harder than the ſtones they were mingled with, ſhowed the ſoftneſs of the former, and the robuſt

Diod. i. ſect. 1. Herod. iii.

robuſt conſtitution, which a frugal diet, and vigorous exerciſe, beſtowed upon the latter. Races on foot, on horſeback, and in chariots, were practiſed in Egypt with a wonderful dexterity; nor could the world boaſt better horſemen than the Egyptians. When Diodorus tells us, that they rejected wreſtling, as an exerciſe which conferred a dangerous and ſhort-lived ſtrength, he muſt have meant the immoderate wreſtling of the Athlets, or prize-wreſtlers, which Greece herſelf, who crowned it in her games, had blamed, as unbecoming free perſons: but, with a certain moderation, it was not unworthy the moſt honorable; and Diodorus himſelf informs us, that the Mercury of the Egyptians had invented its rules, as well as the art of forming the body. Juſt ſo are we to underſtand what that author ſays upon muſic. That, which he makes the Egyptians deſpiſe, as apt to ſlacken their courage, was doutleſs that ſoft and effeminate muſic, which inſpires nothing but pleaſure, and a falſe tenderneſs. For that generous muſic, of which the noble harmony elevates the mind and ſoul, the Egyptians were very far from deſpiſing; ſince, according to the ſame Diodorus, their Mercury had invented it, as alſo the graveſt inſtrument of muſic. In the ſolemn proceſſion of the Egyptians, where were carried, in ſtate, the books of Triſmegiſtus, we ſee the chief ſinger walk at the head, holding in his hand "a ſymbol of muſic" (what it was I know not) "and the book of ſacred "hymns."

Diod. i. ſect. 1, 2.

Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6.

" hymns." In ſhort, Egypt forgot nothing that could poliſh the mind, exalt the ſoul, or ſtrengthen the body. Four hundred thouſand ſoldiers, whom ſhe kept on foot, were thoſe of her citizens, whom ſhe trained with greateſt care. The military laws were eaſily preſerved, and, in a manner, preſerved themſelves, becauſe fathers taught them their children: for the profeſſion of war went from father to ſon, like the reſt; and, next to the prieſtly families, thoſe eſteemed moſt illuſtrious were, as among us, the families deſtined to arms. I will not ſay, however, that the Egyptians were a warlike people. Whatever be the troops, or however trained, in a parade of martial toils, and amid mock battles; nothing but war, and real fighting, will ever make warriors. Egypt loved peace, becauſe ſhe loved juſtice, and had ſoldiers onely for her defence. Content with her country, where peace and plenty reigned, ſhe never thought of conqueſts. She extended herſelf in another way, by ſending her colonies all over the earth, and with them politeneſs and laws.

Plat. in Tim.

The moſt renowned cities came to learn in Egypt their antiquities, and the ſource of their fineſt inſtitutions. She was conſulted, from all quarters, upon the rules of wiſdom.

Herod. ii.

When the men of Elis had inſtituted the Olympic games, the moſt famous in Greece, they ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to crave the approbation of the Egyptians, and learned of them new ways of animating the combatants.

tants. Egypt reigned by her counſels; and that empire of underſtanding appeared to her more noble and more glorious, than that which is eſtabliſhed by arms. Although the kings of Thebes were, without compariſon, the moſt powerful of all the kings of Egypt, never did they encroach on the neighboring dynaſties, which they ſeized onely when invaded by the Arabians; ſo that, to ſay the truth, they rather wreſted them from ſtrangers than wanted to rule over the natives of the country. But, when they took upon them to be conquerors, they ſurpaſſed all others. I ſpeak not of Oſiris the vanquiſher of the Indies, who was probably Bacchus, or ſome other heroe as fabulous. Seſoſtriſſes father, (whom the learned will have to be Amenophis, otherwiſe Memnon,) either by inſtinct or humor, or, as the Egyptians ſay, by the direction of an oracle, conceived the deſign of making his ſon a conqueror. He ſet about it after the manner of the Egyptians; that is, with great idea's. All the children, who were born the ſame day with Seſoſtris, were brought to court by order of the king: he cauſed them to be educated as his children, and with the ſame care as Seſoſtris, about whom they were bred. He could not provide him more faithful miniſters, or more zealous companions of his battles. When he was come ſome length, the king made him ſerve his firſt campaign in a war againſt the Arabians. The young prince there learned to bear hunger and thirſt; and ſubjected

Diod. lib. i. ſect. 2.

jected that, 'till then, unconquerable nation. Enured to the toils of war by this conqueſt, his father made him turn his arms towards the weſt of Egypt: he attacked Libya, and the greater part of that vaſt region was ſubdued. At this time his father died, and left him in condition for any enterpriſe. He conceived no leſs deſign than that of the conqueſt of the world. But, before he
Diod. ibid. marched out of his kingdom, he provided for domeſtic ſecurity, by gaining the hearts of all his people by liberality and juſtice; moreover, by regulating the government with moſt
Ibid. conſummate prudence. Meantime he made his preparations: he levied troops, and appointed for their captains the young men, whom his father had cauſed to be brought up with him. Seventeen hundred were there of them, fit to diffuſe, through the whole army, courage, diſcipline, and the love of their prince. This done, he entered Ethiopia, which he rendered tributary. He continued his victories into Aſia. Jeruſalem was the firſt to feel the force of his arms. Hotheaded Rehoboam could not withſtand him, and Seſoſtris carried off the riches of Solomon. God, by a juſt judgement, had de-
Ibid. livered them into his hands. He penetrated the Indies farther than Hercules or Bacchus, and farther than did afterwards Alexander: for he ſubdued the country beyond the Ganges. By this you may judge whether the more neighboring countries withſtood him. The Scythians ſubmitted as far as the Tanais:

nais: Armenia and Cappadocia became ſubject unto him. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchis, where the manners of Egypt have ever ſince remained. Herodotus found in the leſs Aſia, from one ſea to the other, monuments of his victories, with the proud inſcriptions of Seſoſtris, king of kings, and lord of lords. Some were even in Thrace; and he extended his empire from the Ganges to the Danube. The difficulty of proviſions prevented his getting farther into Europe. He returned, after nine years, loaded with the ſpoils of all the vanquiſhed nations. Some of them had bravely defended their liberty; others had yielded without reſiſtance. Seſoſtris took care to mark, on his monuments, the difference of thoſe nations, in hieroglyphical figures, after the manner of the Egyptians. In order to deſcribe his empire, he invented geographical maps. A hundred famous temples, erected by way of thankſgiving to the tutelar gods of all the cities, were the firſt, as well as faireſt, tokens of his victories; and he ſtudiouſly made known, by the inſcriptions, that thoſe great works had been finiſhed without any trouble to his ſubjects. He placed his glory in ſparing them, and in making none but captives labor at the monuments of his victories. For this he had Solomon's example. That wiſe prince had employed onely the tributary nations, in the great works which rendered his reign immortal. His native ſubjects were engaged in

Herod. & Diod. ibid.

2 Chron. viii. 9.

nobler exercises: they learned to make war, and to command. Sesostris could not copy after a more perfect model. He reigned thirty-three years, and long enjoyed his triumphs; but had been much more worthy of glory, had not vanity prompted him to have his chariot drawn by conquered kings. He seems to have scorned to dy like other men. Having lost his sight in his old age, he put himself to death, and left Egypt rich for ever. His empire did not last beyond the fourth generation; but to the time of Tiberius remained magnificent monuments, which showed the extent of it, and the quantity of the tributes paid him. Egypt soon returned to her pacific disposition: it has even been said, that Sesostris, after his conquests, was the first to soften the manners of his Egyptians, for fear of revolts. If in this be any truth, the precaution could onely be for his successors. For himself, wise and absolute as he was, one does not see what he could fear from his people, who adored him. Besides, the thought was unworthy so great a prince; and it was badly to provide for the security of his conquests, to suffer the spirit of his subjects to be weakened. It is true, however, that that great empire stood not long: some way or other it must have fallen. Division took place in Egypt. In the time of Anysis the blind, Sabacon the Ethiopian invaded the kingdom: he created the people as well, and did as great things there, as any one of the natural kings. Never was seen

Diod. i. sect. 2.

Tac. Ann. ii.

Nimphod. lib. xii. rer. barb. post Herod.

Herod. & Diod. ibid.

ſeen a moderation like his: after a fifty years happy reign, he returned into Ethiopia, in obedience to warnings he believed divine. The kingdom abandoned fell into the hands of Setho, prieſt of Vulcan, a religious prince in his way, but no warrior; and who completely enervated the ſoldiery, by ill-treating military men. From that time Egypt ſupported herſelf ſolely by forain force. A ſort of anarchy prevails. By the people we find twelve kings choſen, who ſhared the government among them. It was they who built thoſe twelve palaces, which compoſed the Labyrinth. Though Egypt could not forget her magnificence, ſhe was weak and divided under thoſe twelve princes. One of them, namely Pſammetichus, made himſelf ſole maſter by the help of forainers. Egypt revived, and continued pretty powerful for five or ſix reigns. At laſt that ancient kingdom, having ſtood ſixteen hundred years, weakened by the kings of Babylon, and by Cyrus, fell a prey to Cambyſes, the maddeſt of all princes.

Such, as have underſtood the temper of Egypt, have acknowleged that ſhe was not warlike: you have ſeen the reaſons. She had lived in peace about thirteen hundred years, when ſhe produced her firſt warrior, Seſoſtris; and ſo, notwithſtanding her ſoldiery carefully kept up, we ſee, towards the end, her whole ſtrength lying in forain troops; which is one of the greateſt weakneſſes incident to a ſtate. But human things are never per- Strab. lib. xvii.

fect; and it is no eaſy matter to enjoy at once, in perfection, the arts of peace with the advantages of war. It is pretty fair to have ſubſiſted ſixteen centuries. Some Ethiopians reigned at Thebes in that period; among others Sabacon, and, as is thought, Tirhakah. But Egypt reaped this benefit from the excellent conſtitution of her ſtate, that the forainers, who conquered her, choſe rather to embrace her manners, than introduce their own: thus changing maſters, ſhe changed not her government. She could not eaſily bear the Perſians, whoſe yoke ſhe often attempted to ſhake off. But ſhe was not warrior enough to ſupport herſelf, by her own force, againſt ſo great a power; and the Grecians, who defended her, being occupied elſewhere, were conſtrained to abandon her; ſo that ſhe always fell back into the ſubjection of her former maſters; but ever obſtinately wedded to her ancient cuſtoms, and incapable of belying the maxims of her firſt kings. Although ſhe retained a great many of them under the Ptolemies, the mixture of the Grecian and Aſiatic manners was become ſo great, that ancient Egypt could ſcarce any more be known.

We muſt not forget, that the times of the ancient kings of Egypt are very uncertain, even in the hiſtory of the Egyptians. We find it hard to place Oſymandyas, of whom we ſee, in Diodorus, ſo magnificent monuments, and ſo glorious marks of his battles. The Egyptians ſeem not to have known Seſoſtriſſes

Diod. i. ſect. 2.

ſoſtriſſes father, whom Herodotus and Diodorus have not named. His power is alſo more declared by the monuments he left in all the earth, than by the memoirs of his country; by which reaſons we are warranted not to believe, as ſome do, that what Egypt publiſhed of her antiquities was always ſo exact as ſhe boaſted, ſince herſelf is ſo uncertain about the moſt eminent times of her monarchy.

IV. The old and new Aſſyrians, the Medes, and Cyrus.

THE great empire of the Egyptians is, in a manner, diſtinct from all others; and has, as you ſee, no long ſeries. What remains for us to ſay is better ſupported, and has more preciſe dates.

We have, however, very little certainty concerning the firſt empire of the Aſſyrians; but, in ſhort, place we its beginnings in what time we will, according to the different opinions of hiſtorians, you will ſee, that, when the world was divided into many little ſtates, whoſe princes thought rather of preſerving than augmenting them, Ninus, more powerful as well as more enterpriſing than his neighbors, overthrew them one after another, and puſhed his conqueſts very far in the Eaſt. His conſort Semiramis, who joined, to the ambition common enough to her ſex, a courage and a conduct not uſually found in it, ſupported the vaſt deſigns of her huſband, and completed the formation of that monarchy.

Diod ii. Juſt. 2.

That it was great, is plain from the greatneſs of Nineveh, which is counted beyond

Strab. xvi. Herod. i. Dion. Hal. i. App. init. op.

that of Babylon. But, as the moſt judicious hiſtorians do not make that monarchy ſo ancient as others repreſent it to us, neither do they make it ſo great. The petty kingdoms, of which it muſt have been compoſed, ſtood too long for its being as ancient and extenſive as the fabling Cteſias, and his believers, deſcribe it. Plato, who was a curious obſerver of antiquity, does indeed make the kingdom of Troy, in Priam's time, a dependency of the Aſſyrian empire. But of this we ſee nothing in Homer; who, in his deſign to ſet forth the glory of Greece, would not have forgot that circumſtance; and we may believe, that the Aſſyrians were little known weſtward, ſince a poet ſo intelligent, and ſo curious to adorn his poem with whatever belonged to his ſubject, has never once made them appear there.

Gen. xiv. 1. 2. Jud. iii. 8. Plat. de leg. iii.

However, according to the computation, which we have judged the moſt reaſonable, the time of the ſiege of Troy was the moſt glorious epoch of the Aſſyrians, being that of the conqueſts of Semiramis: but theſe extended onely towards the Eaſt. Thoſe, who flatter her the moſt, make her turn her arms that way. She had had too great a ſhare in the counſels and victories of Ninus, not to follow out his deſigns, otherwiſe ſo agreable to the ſituation of her empire; and I believe it cannot be douted that Ninus confined himſelf to the Eaſt, ſince Juſtin himſelf, who favors him as much as he can, makes him terminate,

Juſt. i. Diod. ii.

terminate, at the borders of Libya, his enterpriſes weſtward.

I know not therefore at what time Niniveh ſhould have puſhed her conqueſts as far as Troy, ſince we ſee ſo little probability that Ninus or Semiramis attempted any ſuch thing; and ſince all their ſucceſſors, to begin from their ſon Ninyas, lived in ſuch a ſtate of ſoftneſs and inaction, that ſcarce are their very names come down to us; whence we ſhould rather wonder how their empire could ſubſiſt, than imagine it could extend.

It was doutleſs greatly diminiſhed by the conqueſts of Seſoſtris: but, as they were of ſhort continuance, and weakly ſupported by his ſucceſſors, it is to be thought, that the countries, which that victorious king won from the Aſſyrians, having long been accuſtomed to their dominion, returned naturally to it: ſo that that empire maintained itſelf in great power and peace, until Arbaces having diſcovered the ſoftneſs of its kings, which had lain ſo long hid in the receſs of the palace, Sardanapalus, famed for his infamy, became not onely contemptible, but inſupportable to his ſubjects.

You have ſeen the kingdoms which ſprang from the wreck of that firſt empire of the Aſſyrians; among others, that of Niniveh, and that of Babylon. The kings of Niniveh retained the name of kings of Aſſyria, and were the more powerful. Their pride ſoon ſwelled beyond all bounds, upon the conqueſts they made; among which is reckoned

oned that of the kingdom of the Iſraelites, or of Samaria. Nothing leſs than the hand of God and a viſible miracle could have prevented their overwhelming Judea under Hezekiah; nor was it known what limits might be ſet to their power, when they were ſeen to invade, a little after, in their neighborhood, the kingdom of Babylon, where the royal family was extinct.

Babylon ſeemed born to command the earth. Her people were full of ingenuity and courage. Philoſophy had ever reigned among them, with the liberal arts; and the Eaſt had few better ſoldiers than the Chaldeans. Antiquity admires the rich crops of a country, which the negligence of its inhabitants leaves now uncultivated; and its plenty made it regarded, under the ancient kings of Perſia, as the third part of ſo great an empire. Thus the kings of Aſſyria, fluſhed with the acceſſion which ſo opulent a city made to their monarchy, conceived new deſigns. Nebuchadnezzar I. thought his empire unworthy of him, if he added not the world to it. Nebuchadnezzar II. prouder than all the kings his predeceſſors, after unheard-of ſucceſſes, and amazing conqueſts, would rather be worſhipped as a god, than command as a king. What works did he undertake in Babylon! What walls, what towers, what gates, what a compaſs, did there appear! It ſeemed as if the old tower of Babel were about to reaſcend in the prodigious height of the temple of Bel, and that Nebuchadnezzar

Xen. Cyr. iii. iv.

Herod. i.

chadnezzar had a mind once more to threaten heaven. His pride, though humbled by the hand of God, did nevertheleſs revive in his ſucceſſors. They could ſuffer no dominion around them; and, wanting to bring every thing under the yoke, became inſupportable to the neighboring nations. Thus jealouſy united againſt them, with the kings of Media and Perſia, great part of the people of the Eaſt. From pride is an eaſy tranſition to cruelty. As the kings of Babylon treated their ſubjects inhumanly, whole nations, as well as chief lords of their empire, joined Cyrus and the Medes. Babylon, too much uſed to command and to conquer, to fear ſo many enemies confederate againſt her, while ſhe thinks herſelf invincible, becomes captive to the Medes, whom ſhe meant to ſubdue, and falls at laſt by her pride. Xen. Cyrop. iii. iv.

The fate of that city was ſtrange; for ſhe fell by her own inventions. The Euphrates produced pretty nearly the ſame effect in his ſpacious plains, as the Nile in thoſe of Egypt: but to render it commodious, there required yet more art and labor than Egypt beſtowed on the Nile. The Euphrates was ſtraight in his courſe, and never overflowed. An infinity of canals were therefore to be made to him through the whole country, that ſo he might water the lands, which became incomparably fertile by this means. To break the violence of his impetuous waters, there was a neceſſity of making him run through a thouſand windings; and of digging Herod. 2.

for

for him great lakes, which a wiſe queen lined with incredible magnificence. Nitocris, mother of Labynithes, otherwiſe named Nabonides or Belſhazzar, the laſt king of Babylon, executed theſe great works. But that queen undertook one far more wonderful; which was, to build a ſtone-bridge over the Euphrates; that the two ſides of the city, which the vaſt breadth of the river did too much ſeparate, might have a communication with each other. It behooved therefore to dry up ſo rapid and deep a river, by turning aſide its waters into an immenſe lake, which the queen had cauſed to be dug. At the ſame time the bridge was built, of which the ſolid materials were prepared, and the two banks of the river were faced with brick to a ſtupendous height, leaving deſcents faced with the ſame, and of as fine work as the walls of the city. The diligence of the labor equalled the greatneſs. But ſo foreſeing a queen little thought ſhe was teaching her enemies to take the city. It was into that very lake which ſhe had dug, that Cyrus turned the Euphrates, when, deſpairing to reduce Babylon, either by force or famine, he opened to himſelf on both ſides of the city, the paſſage which we have ſeen ſo noted by the prophets.

Ibid. Could Babylon have believed herſelf periſhable, like all other human things, and had not an infatuated confidence blinded her, not onely might ſhe have foreſeen what Cyrus did, as the memory of juſt ſuch another work

work was recent; but alſo, by guarding all the deſcents, ſhe might have overwhelmed the Perſians in the river's bed, through which they paſſed. Nothing minded ſhe but pleaſure and feaſting; there was no order, no regular command. Thus fall not onely the ſtrongeſt places, but even the greateſt empires. A panic ſpred; the impious king was ſlain; and Xenophon, who gives this title to the laſt king of Babylon, ſeems by that epithet to allude to Belſhazzar's ſacrilege, which Daniel ſhows us puniſhed by ſo ſurpriſing a fall. Xenoph. vii.

The Medes, who had deſtroyed the firſt empire of the Aſſyrians, were alſo the deſtroyers of the ſecond; as if that nation had been always to prove fatal to Aſſyrian power. But this laſt time the valor and name of Cyrus got the Perſians, his ſubjects, the glory of the conqueſt. Xenoph. Cyr. i.

Indeed, it was entirely owing to that heroe, who, having been educated under a ſevere and regular diſcipline, according to the manner of the Perſians, a people then as moderate, as ſince they have proved voluptuous, was enured from his infancy to a ſober and military life. The Medes, formerly ſo laborious and martial, but at length ſoftened by their plenty, as is always the caſe, ſtood much in need of ſuch a general. Cyrus availed himſelf of their riches, and of their name ever reſpected in the Eaſt; but placed his hopes of ſucceſs, in the troops he had brought from Perſia. In the very firſt battle Polyb. v. 44. x. 24. Xen. Cyr. iv. v.

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the king of Babylon was ſlain, and the Aſſyrians routed. The victor offered the new king ſingle combat, and, while he ſhowed his courage, he gained the reputation of a merciful prince, who deſires to ſpare the blood of his ſubjects. To valor he joined policy. For fear of ruining ſo fine a country, which he had already looked upon as his conqueſt, he cauſed it to be agreed, that the huſbandmen ſhould be ſpared on both ſides. He found means to awaken the jealouſy of the neighboring nations againſt the haughty power of Babylon, who aimed at univerſal ſway; and, at length, the glory which he had acquired as much by his generoſity and juſtice, as by the ſucceſs of his arms, having united them all under his ſtandards, with ſo great aſſiſtance he ſubjected that vaſt region, of which he compoſed his empire.

Thus aroſe that monarchy. Cyrus rendered it ſo powerful, that it could ſcarce fail of growing under his ſucceſſors. But, in order to underſtand what ruined it, we have onely to compare the Perſians and the ſucceſſors of Cyrus, with the Greeks and their leaders, eſpecially Alexander.

V. The Perſians, Grecians, and Alexander. Plat. de leg. iii.

CAMBYSES, ſon of Cyrus, was the corrupter of the Perſian manners. His father, ſo well trained amid the toils of war, took not ſufficient care to give the ſucceſſor of ſo great an empire an education like to his own; and, by the uſual fate of human things, too much greatneſs proved a foe to virtue. Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, who from private life

life was raiſed to the throne, brought better diſpoſitions to the ſoverain power, and made ſome efforts to rectify diſorders. But corruption was, by that time, too general; plenty had introduced too great irregularity into manners, and Darius had not himſelf preſerved fortitude enough to be capable entirely of reforming others. Every thing degenerated under his ſucceſſors, and the luxury of the Perſians went beyond all bounds.

But, although thoſe people, become powerful, had loſt much of their former virtue by giving themſelves up to pleaſure, they had ſtill preſerved ſomething that was great and noble. What can we find more noble than the abhorrence they had for a ly, which was ever accounted, among them, a ſhameful and ſordid vice? What they held moſt infamous, next to a ly, was to live by borrowing. Such a life appeared to them idle, ſhameful, ſervile, and ſo much the more contemptible, that it led to lying. Through a generoſity natural to their nation, they treated honorably the kings they vanquiſhed. If the children of thoſe princes could any way put it up with the victors, they left them command in their reſpective countries, with almoſt all the marks of their former dignity. The Perſians were honeſt, courteous, liberal to ſtrangers, and knew how to make uſe of them. Perſons of merit they diſtinguiſhed, and ſpared nothing to gain. It is true they did not arrive at a perfect knowlege of that wiſdom, which teaches to govern.

Plat. Alcib. I. Herod. lib. i.

Herod. iii.

govern. Their great empire was always ruled with ſome confuſion. They could never find out that excellent art, ſo well practiſed afterwards by the Romans, of uniting all the parts of a great ſtate, and of making them one perfect whole: ſo were they ſcarce ever without conſiderable revolts. They were not however without polity. The rules of juſtice were known among them; and they had ſome great kings, who cauſed thoſe rules to be admirably obſerved. Crimes were ſeverely puniſhed; but with this moderation, that, as firſt faults were freely pardoned, relapſes were corrected by rigorous chaſtiſements. They had many good laws, moſt of which they owed to Cyrus, and Darius ſon of Hyſtaſpes. They had maxims of government, regular councils to maintain them, and a great ſubordination in all employments. When they ſaid that the grandees who compoſed the council were the eyes and ears of the prince, they admoniſhed at once the prince, that he had his miniſters, as we have the organs of our ſenſes, not to ly ſupinely idle, but in order to act by their means; and the miniſters, that they were not to act for themſelves, but for the prince, who was their head, and for the whole body of the ſtate. The miniſters were to be learned in the ancient maxims of the monarchy. The regiſter kept of paſt actions ſerved for a rule to poſterity. There were recorded the ſervices that every one had performed, leſt, to the ſhame of the prince, and the misfortune

Herod. i.

Plat. de leg iii.

Eſt. i. 13

Xenoph. Cyrop. viii.

Eſt. i. 13.

— vi. 1.

tune of the ſtate, they ſhould have remained unrewarded. It was an excellent way of attaching individuals to the public, to teach them that they were never to ſacrifice for themſelves onely, but for the king, and the whole ſtate, of which every one was a member with the reſt. One of the princes firſt cares was to make agriculture flouriſh; and the Satrap, whoſe province was beſt improved, had the greateſt ſhare in his favor. As there were offices appointed for the direction of arms, ſo were there for inſpecting rural labors: theſe were offices of a ſimilar nature; one of which had the care of guarding the country, the other that of improving it. The prince protected them with an almoſt equal affection, and made them concur to the public good. Next to thoſe who had gained advantage in war, the moſt honored were they who had brought up many children. The reſpect inſtilled into the Perſians, from their childhood, for the royal authority, went even to exceſs; for they mingled adoration with it, and ſeemed rather ſlaves than rational ſubjects to a lawful power: but ſuch was the turn of the eaſterns, and perhaps the quick and violent temper of thoſe people required a more ſteady and abſolute government.

Herod. 1. Xenoph. Oecon. Herod. 1.

The manner in which the king's children were bred is admired by Plato, and propoſed to the Greeks as the model of a perfect education. By ſeven years of age they were taken out of the hands of the eunuchs, in or-

Plat. Alcib. 1.

der to be taught riding, and trained to the chace. At the age of fourteen, when the mind begins to form, four of the moſt virtuous and wiſeſt men in the kingdom were appointed their inſtructors. The firſt, ſays Plato, inſtructed them in magic; that is, in their language, the worſhip of the gods, according to the ancient maxims, and according to the laws of Zoroaſter ſon of Oromaſes. The ſecond accuſtomed them to tell truth, and to do juſtice. The third taught them not to ſuffer themſelves to be overcome by ſenſual pleaſures; that ſo they might always be free, and truly kings, maſters of themſelves, and of their deſires. The fourth fortified them againſt fear, which would have made them ſlaves, and deprived them of the confidence ſo neceſſary for command. The young lords were brought up at the king's gate with his children. Particular care was taken, that they ſhould neither ſee nor hear any thing unhandſome. Of their conduct an account was given to the king, which was followed by his order for rewards or puniſhments. The youth, beholding them, learned betimes, with virtue, the ſcience of obedience and command. With ſo fine an inſtitution, what was not to be expected from the kings of Perſia, and their nobles, had as great care been taken to guide them in their riper years, as had been to inſtruct them in their childhood? But the corrupt manners of the nation ſoon drew them into pleaſures, againſt which no education is proof.

Xenoph. de expet. Cyri jun. l.b. i.

proof. It muſt however be confeſſed, that, notwithſtanding that effeminacy of the Perſians, notwithſtanding the care they took of their beauty and their dreſs, they did not want bravery. They always valued themſelves upon it, and have given ſignal proofs of it. The military art had among them the preference it deſerved, as that under the ſhelter of which all others may be quietly exerciſed. But never did they underſtand the main part, or know what may be done in an army, by ſtrictneſs of diſcipline, diſpoſition of the troops, regular marches and encampments, and, in ſhort, a certain conduct which makes thoſe great bodies move without confuſion, and properly. They thought they had done every thing, when they had gathered, indiſcriminately, an immenſe people, who marched to battle reſolutely enough, but without order; and who were encumbered with a mob of idlers, whom the king and grandees trailed after them: for ſo great was their effeminacy, that they muſt find in the army the ſame magnificence, and the ſame delights, as in the places where the court made its uſual reſidence; ſo that the kings marched attended by their wives, their concubines, their eunuchs, and every thing that miniſtered to their pleaſures. The gold and ſilver-plate, and valuable furniture followed in prodigious abundance; in ſhort, the whole train that ſuch a life requires. An army compoſed in this manner, and already embarraſſed by the exceſſive mul- Xenoph. Oecon.

titude of its ſoldiers, was additionally burdened by the immoderate number of thoſe who did not fight. In this confuſion, it was impoſſible to move in concert: orders never came in time; and in an action every thing went as it might, nor was any body able to help it. Add to this that they muſt quickly have done, and paſs rapidly through a country: for that immenſe body, craving not onely what was neceſſary for life, but even what conduced to pleaſure, conſumed every thing in a very little time; nor is it eaſy to conceive whence it could draw ſubſiſtence.

Yet with this parade did the Perſians aſtoniſh the nations, who knew war no better than themſelves. Even thoſe, who underſtood it, found themſelves either weakened by their own diviſions, or overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies; and thus Egypt, proud of her antiquity, of her wiſe inſtitutions, and of the conqueſts of her Seſoſtris, became ſubject to the Perſians. It was no hard matter for them to ſubdue the leſs Aſia; and even the Greek colonies; which the ſoftneſs of Aſia had corrupted. But, when they came to Greece herſelf, they found what they never had ſeen, a regular ſoldiery; underſtanding chiefs; men accuſtomed to live on little; bodies inured to hardſhip, which wreſtling, and the other exerciſes uſual in that country, rendered alert; armies, moderate indeed, but like thoſe vigorous bodies, that ſeem all nerve and ſpirit: moreover, ſo well commanded, and ſo pliant to the orders

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of their generals, that one would have thought the ſoldiers had all but one and the ſame ſoul: ſuch concert appeared in their motions.

But what was greateſt in Greece, was a ſteady and provident policy, which knew where to abandon, where to hazard, and where to defend; and, greater ſtill, a courage, which the love of liberty, and of the country, rendered invincible.

The Greeks, naturally full of ſpirit, had been early cultivated by kings and colonies from Egypt, who, having ſettled early in different parts of the country, had everywhere diffuſed that excellent polity of the Egyptians. Thence had they learned bodily exerciſes, wreſtling, running, horſe-courſing, chariot-racing, and the other exerciſes, which they brought to perfection by the glorious crowns of the Olympic games. But the beſt thing the Egyptians had taught them, was to be docible, and ſubmit themſelves to be formed by the laws of the public good. It was not individuals, who mind onely their own affairs, and feel the calamities of the ſtate, onely ſo far as they ſuffer from them themſelves, or as the peace of their family is diſturbed by them. The Greeks were taught to conſider themſelves, and their families, as part of a greater body, which was the body of the ſtate. Fathers brought up their children in this principle; and children learned, from their cradle, to look upon their country as a common mother, to whom they belonged,

belonged, even more than to their parents. The word civility ſignified, among the Grecians, not onely the mutual kindneſs and deference which render men ſociable: the civil man was no other than the good citizen, who conſiders himſelf always as a member of the ſtate, who ſubmits himſelf to the guidance of the laws, and conſpires with them towards the public good, without encroaching on any body. The ancient kings, whom Greece had in different countries, Minos, Cecrops, Theſeus, Codrus, Temenes, Cteſiphon, Euryſthenes, Patroclus, and the reſt, had diffuſed this ſpirit through the nation. They were all popular, not by flattering the people, but by promoting their welfare, and by giving law to reign.

What ſhall I ſay of the ſeverity of the judicatures? Was ever a more awful tribunal than that of the Areopagus, ſo revered in all Greece, that the gods themſelves were ſaid to have appeared before it? It was famous from the earlieſt ages; and Cecrops had probably founded it upon the model of the tribunals of Egypt. No court has preſerved ſo long the reputation of her ancient ſeverity, and deceitful eloquence was ever baniſhed from her.

The Greeks thus poliſhed by degrees, thought they were capable of governing themſelves; and moſt of the cities formed themſelves into republics. But wiſe lawgivers, who aroſe in every country, a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon,

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a Philolaus, and ſo many others noted in hiſtory, hindered liberty from degenerating into licentiouſneſs. Laws, ſimple and few, kept the people in their duty, and made them concur to the common good of the country.

The notion of liberty, that ſuch a conduct inſpired, was admirable. For the liberty, which the Greeks figured to themſelves, was a liberty ſubject to law, that is, to reaſon acknowleged by all the people. They would not allow men to have power among them. The magiſtrates, dreaded during their office, returned to the condition of private perſons, retaining no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was regarded as ruler: ſhe appointed the magiſtrates, regulated their power, and puniſhed their maladminiſtration.

It is not here the buſineſs to examine whether thoſe notions be as ſolid, as they are ſpecious: Greece, however, was charmed with them, and preferred the inconveniences of liberty to thoſe of lawful ſubjection, though theſe in effect might be leſs. But, as every form of government has its advantages, Greece reaped one from hers: the citizens proved the more attached to their country, that they managed it in common, and that each individual could attain the higheſt honors.

What philoſophy did to preſerve the ſtate of Greece, is incredible: the freer the people were, the more was it neceſſary to eſtabliſh, upon good principles, the rules of behavior, and of ſociety. Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras,

agoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Ariſtotle, and many others, ſtored Greece with thoſe excellent precepts. There were ſome extravagants, who aſſumed the name of philoſophers; but the followed were they who taught to ſacrifice private intereſt, and life itſelf, to the general intereſt and welfare of the ſtate; and the maxim moſt common to the philoſophers, was, that it behooved either to retire from public affairs, or there to regard nothing but the public good.

Why talk of philoſophers? The poets themſelves, who were in the hands of all the people, inſtructed ſtill more than they entertained them. The moſt renowned of conquerors honored Homer as a maſter who taught him to reign. That great poet taught no leſs to obey, than to be a citizen. He, and ſo many other poets, whoſe works are no leſs ſolid than pleaſing, celebrate none but arts uſeful to human life, brethe nothing but the public weal, the native country, ſociety, and that admirable civility, which we have explained.

When Greece, thus educated, beheld the Aſiatics with their delicacy, dreſs, and beauty like that of women, ſhe held them in the higheſt contempt. But their mode of government, having no other rule than the will of the prince, which was above all laws, even the moſt ſacred, inſpired her with horror; and nothing was ſo odious to Greece as the barbarians.

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This hatred was hereditary to the Greeks from the earlieſt times, and become in a manner natural to them. One of the firſt recommendations of Homer's poetry, was, that he ſang the victories and advantages of Greece over Aſia. On the ſide of Aſia was Venus, that is, pleaſure, wanton love and ſoftneſs. On the ſide of Greece were, Juno, that is, gravity with conjugal affection; Mercury with eloquence; Jupiter and wiſe policy. On Aſia's part was Mars impetuous and brutal, or war waged with fury: on the Grecian was Pallas, or the art military, and bravery conducted by judgement. Greece from that time had always thought underſtanding and ſpirit her native portion. She could not bear that Aſia ſhould pretend to ſubdue her; for, ſubmitting to ſuch a yoke, ſhe would have thought ſubjecting virtue to voluptuouſneſs, the mind to the body, and true courage to an inſenſible force, which conſiſted onely in multitude. Iſoc. Paneg.

Full of theſe ſentiments was Greece, when attacked by Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and by Xerxes, with armies that ſeem fabulous as enormous. Inſtant every Greek prepares to defend his liberty. Though all the cities of Greece were ſo many republics, the common intereſt united them; and the onely diſpute among them was, who ſhould do moſt for the public. The Athenians made no ſcruple to abandon their city to pillage and the flames; and, after ſaving their old men, their wives, and their children, they clapt on ſhip-board

every

every ſoul that was capable of bearing arms. To ſtop the Perſian army ſome days at a difficult paſs, and to make it know what Greece was, a handful of Lacedemonians flew with their king to certain death; meeting him with joy at having ſacrificed to their country an infinite number of thoſe barbarians, and ſet their countrymen an example of unparallelled reſolution. Againſt ſuch armies and ſuch a conduct Perſia found herſelf weak; and experienced ſeveral times, to her coſt, what diſcipline can do againſt confuſed numbers, and valor, guided by ſkill, againſt a blind impetuoſity.

Perſia, ſo often conquered, had nothing left, but to ſow diviſion among the Greeks: and the very condition, in which they proved through their victories, rendered the attempt eaſy. As fear had kept them united, victory and confidence broke the union. Accuſtomed to fight and to conquer, when they had no more to fear from the power of the Perſians, they turned their arms againſt one another. But we muſt explain a little farther the ſtate of the Greeks, and this ſecret of the Perſian policy.

Among all the republics, of which Greece was compoſed, Athens and Lacedemon were incomparably the chief. Greater wit cannot be, than ſhone at Athens; nor greater ſtrength, than dwelt at Lacedemon. Athens was ſet on pleaſure: the life of Lacedemon was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty: but at Athens liberty ran naturally

naturally into licentiouſneſs; and, confined by ſtrict laws at Lacedemon, the more ſhe was repreſſed at home, the more did ſhe ſeek to extend her ſway abroad. Athens wanted alſo to rule, but upon another principle; a mixture of intereſt with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art of navigation; and the ſea, on which ſhe reigned, had enriched her. In order to keep ſole miſtreſs of commerce, there was nothing that ſhe would not bear down; and her riches, which inſtilled this deſire, furniſhed her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedemon money was deſpiſed. As all her laws tended to make her a martial ſtate, the glory of arms was the onely charm, that captivated the minds of her citizens. Hence ſhe naturally wiſhed to command; and, the more ſhe was above intereſt, the more ſhe gave way to ambition.

Lacedemon, by her regular life, was ſteady in her maxims and deſigns. Athens was more ſprightly, and her people too much maſter. Philoſophy and the laws wrought indeed fine effects upon ſo exquiſite diſpoſitions; but reaſon alone was not ſufficient to reſtrain them. A wiſe Athenian, who admirably underſtood the temper of his country, informs us that fear was neceſſary for thoſe too lively and free ſpirits; and that they became quite ungovernable, when the victory at Salamis had ſecured them againſt the Perſians. Plat. de leg. iii.

Then two things proved their undoing: the glory of their great actions, and the ſecurity in which they thought themſelves. The magiſtrates were no longer regarded; and, as Perſia ſuffered by an exceſſive ſubjection, Athens, ſays Plato, felt the evils of an exceſſive liberty.

Theſe two great republics, ſo oppoſite in manners and conduct, embarraſſed each other in the deſign both had of ſubjecting Greece; ſo that they were always enemies, ſtill more by the contrariety of their intereſts, than by the incompatibility of their humors.

The Greek cities choſe the dominion of neither: for, beſide that every one wiſhed to preſerve her liberty, they found the empire of both commonwealths uneaſy. That of Lacedemon was harſh: ſomewhat ſavage was obſervable in her people. Too rigid a government, and a life too laborious, rendered the ſpirits proud, auſtere, and imperious: add to this, that they muſt reſolve never to be at peace under the dominion of a city, which, being formed for war, could no way preſerve herſelf but by continuing it. Thus the Lacedemonians would command, and all around feared their doing ſo. The Athenians were naturally more mild and more agreable. No ſcene was more delightful than their city, where feaſts and games were perpetual; where wit, liberty, and the paſſions, daily afforded new ſpectacles. But their unequal conduct diſpleaſed their allies, and

Ariſt. Pol. viii. 4.

Id. vii. 14.

Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. Plat. de Rep. viii.

was

was ſtill leſs ſupportable to their ſubjects. Theſe had to bear with the oddities of a flattered people, which are, according to Plato, more dangerous than thoſe of a prince corrupted by flattery.

The two cities ſuffered not Greece to be at reſt. You have ſeen the Peloponneſian, and the other wars, always cauſed or kept up by the jealouſies of Lacedemon and Athens. But thoſe ſame jealouſies, which diſturbed Greece, proved in ſome reſpect her ſupport, and prevented her falling into the dependance of either of thoſe republics.

The Perſians ſoon perceived this ſtate of Greece. So the whole ſecret of their policy was to keep up her jealouſies, and to foment her diviſions. Lacedemon, being the more ambitious, was the firſt that engaged them in the quarrels of the Greeks. In thoſe they took part with the view of making themſelves maſters of the whole nation; and, ſtudious to weaken the Greeks by one another, they waited onely the moment to ſwallow up all together. By this time the cities of Greece regarded in their wars none but the king of Perſia; whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already counted themſelves his ſubjects. But it was impoſſible for the ancient ſpirit of Greece not to rouſe, on the brink of falling into ſlavery, and into the hands of the barbarians. Some petty Grecian kings attempted to oppoſe that great king, and to lay waſte his empire. With a ſmall army,

Plat. de leg. iii. Iſoc. Paneg. &c.

but trained in the diſcipline we have ſeen, Ageſilaus, king of Sparta, made the Perſians tremble in Aſia Minor; and ſhowed that they might be pulled down. Greeces diviſions alone put a ſtop to his conqueſts: but it happened in thoſe times that the younger Cyrus, brother to Artaxerxes, revolted againſt him. He had, in his troops, ten thouſand Greeks, who alone could not be broken in the general rout of his army. He was killed in battle; and, as is ſaid, by the hand of Artaxerxes. Our Greeks found themſelves without protector in the midſt of the Perſians, and on the confines of Babylon. Yet Artaxerxes, victorious, could neither reduce them to lay voluntarily down their arms, nor compel them to do ſo. They formed the bold reſolution of croſſing his whole empire in a body, to get back into their country; and effected it. This is the fine ſtory ſo finely told by Xenophon, who was every way ſo qualified to tell it. All Greece was now more ſenſible than ever, that ſhe reared an invincible ſoldiery, to which every thing muſt yield; and that nothing, but her diviſions, could ſubject her to an enemy too weak to reſiſt her united. Philip of Macedon, a prince of equal conduct and courage, ſo improved the advantages, which a kingdom, ſmall indeed, but united, and where the royal power was abſolute, gave him over ſo many divided cities and commonwealths, that at laſt, partly by ſtratagem, partly by ſtrength, he rendered himſelf

Polyb. lib. iii. c. 6.

ſelf the moſt powerful of Greece, and obliged all the Greeks to march under his ſtandards againſt the common enemy. In one of thoſe junctures he was ſlain: but Alexander his ſon ſucceeded to his kingdom and deſigns.

He found the Macedonians not onely trained, but triumphant; and become by ſo many ſucceſſes almoſt as much ſuperior to the other Greeks, in valor and diſcipline, as the other Greeks were beyond the Perſians and ſuch people.

Darius, who reigned over Perſia in his time, was juſt, brave, generous, beloved by his people; and wanted neither parts nor ſpirit to execute his deſigns. But, if you compare him with Alexander, his parts with that piercing and ſublime genius, his bravery with the exalted conſtancy of that invincible courage, which found itſelf animated by obſtacles; with that immenſe ardor of daily advancing the honor of his name, which made him undervalue all hazards, all toils, nay a thouſand deaths, for the leaſt degree of glory; in fine, with that confidence that made him feel, in the bottom of his heart, that every thing muſt give way to him, as to a man deſtined ſuperior to others; a confidence with which he inſpired not onely his commanders, but even the meaneſt of his ſoldiers, whom he raiſed by that means above difficulties, and above themſelves; you will eaſily judge to whether the victory belonged. And, if to theſe conſiderations you

join the advantages of the Greeks and Macedonians over their enemies, you will own that Perſia, attacked by ſuch a heroe, and by ſuch armies, could no longer avoid changing her maſter. Thus you will diſcover, at the ſame time, what ruined the empire of the Perſians, and what raiſed that of Alexander.

Died. xvii. ſect. 1. To facilitate his victory, Perſia chanced to loſe the onely general ſhe could oppoſe to the Greeks; and that was Memnon the Rhodian. So long as Alexander had ſo famous a captain to deal with, he might boaſt of vanquiſhing an enemy worthy of him. Inſtead of hazarding a general battle with the Grecians, Memnon would diſpute all the paſſes, would cut off their proviſions, would go and attack them at home; that, by a vigorous aſſault there, they might be forced to come and defend their country. Alexander however had taken care of it, and the troops he had left with Antipater were ſufficient to guard Greece. But his good fortune delivered him at once out of difficulty. Juſt as a diverſion was beginning, which already alarmed all Greece, Memnon died; and Alexander put every thing under his feet.

This prince entered Babylon with a pomp that ſurpaſſed any thing the world had ſeen; and, after avenging Greece, after ſubduing with incredible expedition every land of the Perſian dominion, to ſecure his new empire on all ſides, or rather to gratify his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus,

Bacchus, he penetrated the Indies, where he puſhed his conqueſts farther than that renowned conqueror. But he, whom neither deſarts, nor rivers, nor mountains, could ſtop, was conſtrained to yield to his toil-ſick ſoldiers, who demanded reſt. Reduced to content himſelf with the proud monuments which he left on the banks of Araſpes, he led back his army by another rout than that he had taken, and ſubdued all the countries he found in his way.

He returned to Babylon, feared and reſpected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Yet that formidable empire, which he had conquered, laſted no longer than his life, which was very ſhort. At thirty-three years of age, in the midſt of the vaſteſt deſigns that man had ever conceived, and with the juſteſt hopes of a proſperous ſucceſs, he died, without having had leiſure ſolidly to ſettle his affairs, leaving a ſimpleton brother, and children minors, incapable of ſuſtaining ſo enormous a weight. But what proved moſt fatal to his houſe and empire was, that he left captains whom he had taught to brethe nothing but ambition and war. He foreſaw to what exceſſes they would go, when once he were out of the world. To reſtrain them, and prevent their negative, he durſt neither name his ſucceſſor, nor the guardian of his children. He foretold onely, that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles, and expired in the flower of his age,

deeply

deeply impreſſed with the confuſion that muſt attend his death.

Accordingly, you have ſeen the diviſion of his empire, and the dreadful ruin of his houſe. Macedon, his ancient kingdom, enjoyed by his anceſtors ſo many ages, was invaded on all ſides as a vacant ſucceſſion; and, after being long the prey of the ſtrongeſt, went at laſt to another family. Thus that great conqueror, the moſt renowned and moſt illuſtrious that ever was in the world, was the laſt king of his race. Had he remained peaceably in Macedon, the greatneſs of his empire would not have tempted his captains, and he might have left to his children the kingdom of his fathers. But his having been too powerful proved the ruin of all that belonged to him; and ſuch was the fruit of ſo many conqueſts!

His death was the ſole cauſe of this extraordinary revolution. For we muſt ſay, to his honor, that, if ever man was capable of maintaining ſo vaſt an empire, newly conquered, it was doutleſs Alexander; as he had no leſs conduct than courage. We ſhould not therefore impute to his faults, though he was guilty of ſome very great ones, the fall of his family, but to mortality alone; if it may not be ſaid, that a man of his temper, conſtantly enterpriſing, would never have found leiſure to ſettle things.

Be this as it may, we ſee, from his example, that, beſides the faults corrigible, thoſe of paſſion or ignorance, there is one irremediable

diable failing inſeparable from human deſigns; and that is, mortality. This way every thing may fall in a moment: which forces us to confeſs, that, as the defect moſt inherent in human things, is their own frailty, he, who knows how to preſerve and confirm a ſtate, has attained a higher pitch of wiſdom than he, who knows how to conquer, and to win battles.

It is needleſs for me minutely to relate to you, what occaſioned the fall of the kingdoms formed out of the wreck of Alexander's empire; thoſe of Syria, Macedon, and Egypt. The common cauſe of their ruin was, that they were conſtrained to yield to a greater power, which was the Roman. Were we however to conſider the laſt ſtate of thoſe monarchies, we ſhould eaſily find the immediate cauſes of their fall; and ſhould ſee, among other things, that the moſt powerful of them all, that of Syria, after being ſhaken by the ſoftneſs and luxury of the nation, received the mortal ſtroke from the diviſion of her princes.

VI. The Roman empire.

AT length we come to that great empire, which ſwallowed up all the empires of the univerſe, whence have ſprung the greateſt kingdoms of the world we dwell in, of which we ſtill revere the laws, and with which we muſt conſequently be better acquainted than with all other empires. You are ſenſible, SIR, that I ſpeak of the Roman empire. Of this you have ſeen the long and memorable hiſtory in its whole ſeries. But, perfectly to underſtand

underſtand the cauſes of Romes exaltation, and thoſe of the great changes that have happened in her ſtate, be pleaſed attentively to conſider, with the manners of the Romans, the times, on which depend all the movements of that ſtupendous empire.

Of all the nations of the world, the moſt fierce and daring, but withall the moſt regular in its counſels, the moſt conſtant in its maxims, the moſt deliberate, the moſt laborious, and, in fine, the moſt patient, was the Roman people.

From all this was formed the beſt ſoldiery, and a policy the moſt foreſeeing, moſt ſteady, and beſt purſued that ever exiſted.

The firſt principle of a Roman, was the love of liberty, and of his country. One of theſe made him love the other; for, by loving liberty, he loved alſo his country, as a mother who brought him up in ſentiments equally generous and free.

Under the notion of liberty, the Romans figured to themſelves, with the Greeks, a ſtate, where none were ſubject to any thing but the law, and where the law was more powerful than men.

Moreover, though Rome was born under a regal government, ſhe enjoyed, even under her kings, a liberty ſcarce conſiſtent with a regular monarchy. For, beſides that the kings were elective, and that the election was made by the whole people, it belonged alſo to the people aſſembled, to ratify the laws, and to decree peace or war. There were

were even ſome particular caſes, in which the kings gave up the ſupreme judgement to the people; witneſs Tullus Hoſtilius, who, daring neither to condemn nor to acquit Horatius, loaded at once with the honor of having vanquiſhed the three Curiatians, and with the ſhame of having killed his ſiſter, cauſed him to be judged by the people. So the kings had properly no more than the command of the armies, and the power of calling lawful aſſemblies, of propoſing matters there, of maintaining the laws, and of executing the public decrees.

When Servius Tullius formed the deſign, which you have heard, of reducing Rome into a commonwealth, he increaſed the love of liberty in a people already ſo free; and hence you may judge how jealous the Romans were of it, when they had taſted it entire under their conſuls.

It ſtill ſhocks us to ſee, in hiſtory, the ſtern ſteadineſs of the conſul Brutus, when he cauſed his two ſons to be put to death before his eyes, for having ſuffered themſelves to be drawn into the ſecret practices the Tarquins were purſuing at Rome, for the recovery of their dominion there. How muſt the people be confirmed in the love of liberty, upon ſeing that ſevere conſul ſacrifice his own family to it? We need no longer wonder if at Rome were deſpiſed the efforts of the neighboring nations, who attempted to reſtore the baniſhed Tarquins. In vain did king Porſena take them into his protection.

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The

Dion. Hal. lib. v. The Romans, almoſt ſtarved, gave him to know, by their firmneſs, that they would at leaſt dy free. The people were ſtill more reſolute than the ſenate; and Rome unanimouſly ſent word to that powerful king, who had reduced her to extremity, that he might give over interceding for the Tarquins, ſince, reſolved to hazard every thing for her liberty, ſhe would ſooner receive her enemies than her tyrants. Porſena aſtoniſhed at the ſpirit of the people, and the more than human boldneſs of ſome individuals, reſolved to let the Romans enjoy peaceably a liberty, which they knew ſo well how to defend.

Tit. Liv. 12. 13. 15.

Liberty was to them therefore a treaſure, which they preferred to all the riches in the world. So have you ſeen, that in their beginnings, and even in their far advanced ſtages, poverty was no evil to them: on the contrary, they looked upon it as a means of preſerving their freedom; nothing being more free, or leſs dependant, than the man, who can live upon little, and who, without expecting aught from the protection or bounty of others, founds his ſubſiſtence upon nothing but his induſtry and his labor.

And this did the Romans. To breed cattle, to till the ground, to abridge what they could from themſelves, to live ſparing and laborious; ſuch was their manner of life; and ſo did they ſupport their families, whom they enured to like hardy occupations.

Livy might well ſay, that never was a people, with whom frugality, or parſimony,

ny, or poverty, were longer had in honor. The moſt illuſtrious ſenators, to behold onely their outſide, differed little from the meaneſt peaſants; and had no ſhow, no majeſty, but in public, and in the ſenate. So were they found occupied in huſbandry, and the other cares of a country life, when ſummoned to head armies. Such inſtances are frequent in the Roman ſtory. Curius and Fabricius, thoſe great captains who vanquiſhed Pyrrhus, ſo rich a king, had onely earthen veſſels; and the former, to whom the Samnites offered plate of gold and ſilver, anſwered, that his delight lay not in poſſeſſing it, but in commanding the poſſeſſors. After triumphing, and enriching the commonwealth with the ſpoils of her enemies, they had not enough to bury them. This moderation continued even during the Punic wars. In the firſt we ſee Regulus, the general of the Roman armies, aſking his diſcharge of the ſenate, in order to go and cultivate his farm, that had been neglected during his abſence. After the overthrow of Carthage, we ſee alſo great examples of the primitive ſimplicity. Paul, the Emilian, who augmented the public treaſury, by the rich treaſure of the kings of Macedon, lived up to the rules of the ancient frugality, and died poor. Mummius, when he deſtroyed Corinth, gained onely for the uſe of the public, the riches of that opulent and voluptuous city. Thus riches were deſpiſed; and the moderation and

Tit. Liv. Ep. lib. xviii.

Cic. Off. ii.

integrity of the Roman generals were the admiration of the vanquiſhed nations.

Yet in this great love of poverty, the Romans ſpared nothing upon the grandeur and beauty of their city. In their very beginnings, the public works were ſuch, as Rome was not aſhamed of, even when ſhe ſaw herſelf miſtreſs of the world. The capitol built by Tarquin the proud, and the temple he erected to Jupiter in that fortreſs, were, thenceforth worthy the majeſty of the greateſt of the gods, and the glory of the Roman people. All elſe was correſpondent to this grandeur. The chief temples, the markets, the baths, the public places, the highways, the aqueducts, the very ſinks and ſewers of the city, had a magnificence that would ſeem incredible, were it not atteſted by all hiſtorians, and confirmed by the remains we ſee of them. What ſhall I ſay of the pomp of the triumphs, of the religious ceremonies, of the games and ſhows that were exhibited to the people? In a word, whatever was for the ſervice of the public, whatever could give the people a high notion of their country, was executed with profuſion, as far as the time could permit. Parſimony reigned onely in private families. He, who augmented his revenues, and rendered his lands more fertile by his induſtry and his labor, who was the beſt economiſt, and the moſt ſelf-denied, eſteemed himſelf the moſt free, the moſt powerful, and the moſt happy.

Tit. Liv. i. 53. 55, 56. vi. 5. Dion. Hal. iii. iv. Tac. Hiſt. iii. 72. Plin. xxxvi. 15.

Dion. Hal. vii. Ant. Rom.

From

From ſuch a life is nothing more remote than ſoftneſs. Every thing tended to the other extreme. And indeed the manners of the Romans had naturally ſomething, not onely rude and rigid, but even ſavage and fierce. Yet they neglected nothing to bring themſelves under good laws; and the people, the moſt jealous of its liberty the world ever ſaw, proved at the ſame time the moſt ſubmiſſive to its magiſtrates and to lawful authority.

The ſoldiery of ſuch a people could not fail to be admirable, where, with dauntleſs hearts and vigorous bodies, prevailed ſo ſteady and exact an obedience.

The military laws were hard, but neceſſary. Victory proved dangerous, and often mortal, to thoſe who won it contrary to orders. It was death for a man, not onely to fly, to part with his arms, to leave his rank; but even to ſtir, ſo to ſpeak, or to make the leaſt motion, without the general's command. He, who laid down his arms to the enemy, who choſe rather to be taken, than to dy glorioufly for his country, was judged unworthy any manner of aſſiſtance. Priſoners were no longer counted among the citizens; but were left to the enemy, as members cut off from the commonwealth. You have red in Florus and Cicero the ſtory of Regulus, who perſwaded the ſenate, at the expence of his own life, to abandon the priſoners to the Carthaginians. In the war with Annibal, and after the loſs of the bat-

Flor. ii. 2. Cic. de. Offi. iii.

Polyb. vi. 56.

Tit. Liv. xxii. 57, 58. tle of Cannae, when Rome, drained by so many losses, was in greatest want of men, the senate chose rather to arm, contrary to its custom, eight thousand slaves, than to ransom eight thousand Romans, who would have cost no more than the levies to be made.

Cic. de Offi. iii. But, in the exigence of affairs, it was established more than ever an inviolable law, that a Roman soldier must either conquer or dy.

By virtue of this maxim, the Roman armies, though defeated and broken, fought

Sallust. de bel. Catil. 9. and rallied to the last; and, as Sallust observes, among the Romans are to be found more persons punished for fighting without orders, than for giving ground and quitting their posts; so that their courage had more need to be restrained, than excited.

To valor they joined wit and invention. Besides their being of themselves diligent and ingenious, they knew how to improve wonderfully whatever in other nations they saw commodious for encampment, for the order of battle, and even for the kind of arms; in a word, for facilitating as well attack as defence. You have seen, in Sallust and other authors, what the Romans learned from their neighbors, and from their very enemies. Who does not know that they owed to the Carthaginians the invention of the galleys, with which they beat them; and, in short, that they drew from all the nations, with whom they were acquainted, the means of overcoming them?

By

By the confeſſion of the Romans, the Gauls ſurpaſſed them in ſtrength of body, and yielded not to them in courage. Polybius lets us ſee, that, in a certain deciſive action, the Gauls, beſides being ſuperior in number, ſhowed more reſolution than the Romans, however determined theſe might be; yet do we find, in that very action, thoſe Romans, inferior in all elſe, get the better of the Gauls, by having the ſkill to make choice of better arms, to range themſelves in better order, and better to improve each juncture in the engagement. This you may one day ſee more exactly in Polybius; and you have often yourſelf obſerved, in Ceſar's Commentaries, that the Romans, commanded by that great man, ſubdued the Gauls ſtill more by military addreſs than by valor.

Polyb ii. 28. & ſeq.

The Macedonians, ſo jealous of preſerving the ancient order of their ſoldiery, formed by Philip and Alexander, imagined their phalanx invincible; and could not perſwade themſelves that human wit was capable of contriving any thing ſtronger. Yet the ſame Polybius, and Titus Livius after him, have demonſtrated, that, to conſider onely the nature of the Roman armies and thoſe of the Macedonians, the latter could not fail of being beaten at the long run; becauſe the Macedonian phalanx, which was one huge ſquare battalion, very thick on every ſide, could not move but of a piece; whereas the Roman army, parted into ſmall bodies, was

Polyb. xvii. in excerp. 24. & ſeq. Tit. Liv. xx. 19 xxx. 39. &c.

readier and more fitted for all ſort of motions.

The Romans therefore found out, or very ſoon learned, the art of dividing armies into ſeveral battalions and ſquadrons; and of forming bodies of reſerve, whoſe diſpoſition is ſo proper for puſhing or ſupporting what gives way on one ſide or the other. Move the Macedonian phalanx againſt troops thus diſpoſed: that huge and unwieldy machine will be terrible, indeed, to an army upon which it ſhall fall with its whole weight. But, as ſpeaks Polybius, it cannot long preſerve its natural propriety, that is, its ſolidity and conſiſtence; becauſe it muſt have places proper, and, ſo to ſay, made on purpoſe; and, not finding them, it embarraſſes, or rather breaks, itſelf by its own motion. Add to this, that, once broken, it cannot rally; whereas the Roman army, divided into its ſmall bodies, makes the beſt of all places, and adapts itſelf to them. It joins and parts at pleaſure; it eaſily files off, and meets again without difficulty; it is fit for detachments, for rallyings, for all manner of converſions and evolutions, which it performs, either whole or in part, as requiſite; in ſhort, it has more different movements, and conſequently more action and ſtrength, than the phalanx. Conclude we then, with Polybius, that the phalanx muſt give way to it, and that Macedon muſt be overcome.

It is a pleaſure, SIR, to talk to you of thoſe things, in which you are inſtructed by

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ſo excellent maſters, and which you ſee practiſed under the command of Lewis the Great in ſo admirable a manner, that I know not whether the Roman warfare had any thing more perfect. But, without making it enter the liſts with the French, ſuffice it to have ſhown you that the Roman ſoldiery, whether we regard its ſkill in taking advantages, or onely conſider its extreme ſtrictneſs in cauſing all the rules of war to be obſerved, far ſurpaſſed all that had appeared in preceding ages.

After Macedon, we need ſay no more of Greece. You have ſeen that Macedon there took the lead; and from her you may judge of the reſt. Athens produced nothing ſince the time of Alexander. The Etolians, who ſignalized themſelves in various wars, were rather froward than free, and rather brutal than brave. Lacedemon had exerted her laſt effort for war, in ſending forth Cleomenes; as had the Achean league, in producing Philopemen. Rome never fought againſt thoſe two great captains; but the latter, who lived in the days of Annibal and Scipio, upon ſeing the Romans act in Macedonia, judged well that the liberty of Greece was about to expire, and that nothing remained for him but to retard the moment of her fall. Thus the moſt warlike nations yielded to the Romans. The Romans triumphed over courage in the Gauls, over courage and art in the Greeks, and over both, ſupported by the moſt refined conduct, in triumphing over Annibal; Plut. in Philop.

nibal; ſo that nothing ever equalled the glory of their warfare.

Nothing had they indeed, in all their government, that they ſo much boaſted, as their military diſcipline. They always conſidered it as the foundation of their empire. Martial diſcipline was the firſt thing that appeared in their ſtate, and the laſt that was loſt in it: ſo deeply was it grafted in the conſtitution of their commonwealth.

One of the moſt beautiful parts of the Roman warfare was, that there falſe bravery never met with praiſe. The maxims of falſe honor, that have undone ſo many among us, were not ſo much as known in a nation ſo
Polyb. i. 13. fond of glory. It is remarked of Scipio and of Ceſar, the two firſt warriors and braveſt men among the Romans, that they never expoſed themſelves but with caution, and when
i. 29. neceſſity required it. No good was expected from a general, who had not the ſenſe to know the care he ought to take of his perſon; and actions of extraordinary reſolution were reſerved for real ſervice. The Romans would have no battles hazarded at random, nor victories at the expence of too much blood; ſo that nothing could be more daring, or at the ſame time better ſaved, than were the Roman armies.

But, as it is not ſufficient to underſtand war, if there is not a wiſe council to direct when to undertake it, and to keep domeſtic affairs in good order, I muſt alſo propoſe to your obſervation the profound policy of the Roman

Roman ſenate. To take it in the beſt times of the commonwealth, never was an aſſembly where affairs were treated with maturer deliberation, with profounder ſecrecy, with a longer forecaſt, or with greater unanimity and zeal for the public good.

The ſacred penman of the book of Maccabees has not diſdained to declare this, to commend the eminent prudence and vigorous counſels of that wiſe company; where none claimed authority but by reaſon, and of which all the members conſpired to the public ſervice without partiality and without jealouſy. 1 Mac. viii. 15, 16.

Of its ſecrecy, Livy gives us a notable inſtance. When a war was meditating againſt Perſeus, Eumenes, king of Pergamus, an enemy of that prince, came to Rome to confederate with the ſenate againſt him. He made his propoſals in full aſſembly, and the affair was determined by the voices of a company conſiſting of three hundred perſons. Who would think that the ſecret ſhould have been kept, and that nothing was ever known of the conſultation till four years after, when the war was ended? What makes it the more wonderful is, that Perſeus had his ambaſſadors at Rome to obſerve Eumenes. All the cities of Greece and Aſia, who feared being involved in the quarrel, had alſo ſent theirs; and all laid their heads together to diſcover an affair of ſuch conſequence. Amid ſo many cunning agents, the ſenate was impenetrable. To make a ſecret be kept, there was Tit. Liv. xlii. 14.

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no need of punishment, or of forbidden correspondence with forainers under rigorous penalties. Secrecy recommended herself by her own importance.

It is a thing surprising in the conduct of Rome, to see the people always look upon the senate with jealousy, and nevertheless refer every thing to it on extraordinary occasions, especially in times of danger. Then were all the people seen to turn their eyes upon that wise assembly, and expect its resolves as so many oracles.

A long experience had taught the Romans, that thence had proceeded all the counsels which had saved the state. In the senate were preserved the ancient maxims, and the spirit, so to speak, of the commonwealth. There were formed the designs supported by their own consequence; and what crowned the senators greatness was, that more vigorous measures were never taken there than in the greatest extremity.

Dion. Hal. viii. Tit. Liv. ii. 39.

It was in the most dismal state of the republic, when, yet weak, and in her infancy, she found herself at once divided at home by the tribunes, and pressed abroad by the Volsci, whom the provoked Coriolanus led against his country; in this state it was that the senate showed itself the most intrepid. The Volscians, ever beaten by the Romans, hoped to revenge themselves now that they had at their head the greatest man of Rome, the most expert in war, the most liberal, and the most abhorrent of injustice; but withall, the

the moſt hard-hearted, the moſt difficult, and the moſt exaſperated. They would make themſelves citizens by force; and, after great conqueſts, maſters of the field and of the country, they threatened univerſal deſtruction, if their demand were not complied with. Rome had neither army nor commander; and yet, in that ſad ſituation, while ſhe had every thing to fear, did the ſenate ſuddenly iſſue the bold decree, that they would ſooner periſh than yield any thing to an armed enemy, and that they would grant him equitable terms, after he had withdrawn his arms.

Coriolanuſſes mother, ſent to ſoften him, among other arguments, urged: "Do you "not know the Romans? Do you not "know, my ſon, that you will gain nothing "of them but by fair means, and that you "never will obtain of them any thing, more "or leſs, by force?" The ſtern Coriolanus ſuffered himſelf to be overcome: it coſt him his life, and the Volſci choſe other generals. But the ſenate ſtood firm to its maxims; and the decree which it made, of granting nothing by force, paſſed into a fundamental law of the Roman policy, from which is not one inſtance of the Romans departing in all the after-times of the commonwealth. Among them, in their loweſt circumſtances, faint-hearted counſels were not ſo much as heard. They were always more tractable, when victorious, than when vanquiſhed: ſo well did the ſenate know how to maintain the ancient maxims of the republic,

Dion. Hal. viii.

Polyb. vii. 56. Excerp. de legat. 69. Dion. Hal. viii.

lic, and ſo well did it know how to confirm the reſt of the citizens in them.

From the ſame ſpirit proceeded the reſolutions, taken ſo many times in the ſenate, of ſubduing the enemy by open force, without making uſe of arts and ſtratagems, even ſuch as are allowed in war: which the ſenate did neither out of a falſe point of honor, nor through ignorance of the laws of war; but becauſe it judged nothing more effectual to humble a haughty enemy, than to take away its whole opinion of its own ſtrength; that ſo, being vanquiſhed in the very heart, they ſhould ſee no ſafety but in the clemency of the victor.

Thus was eſtabliſhed throughout the earth that opinion of the Roman armies. The belief, univerſally ſpred, that nothing ſtood before them, made the arms drop out of their enemies hands, and afforded invincible aid to their allies. You ſee what a like opinion of the French arms does over Europe; and the world, aſtoniſhed at the king's exploits, confeſſes that to him alone it belonged to ſet bounds to his conqueſts.

The conduct of the Roman ſenate, ſo powerful againſt the enemy, was no leſs admirable in domeſtic adminiſtration. Thoſe wiſe ſenators had ſometimes a juſt condeſcenſion for the people: as when, in an extreme exigence, they not only taxed themſelves higher than the reſt, which was uſual with them, but eaſed the common people of all impoſts, adding, "*That the poor paid a*

Tit. Liv. ii. 9.

"*ſufficient*

" *ſufficient tribute to the commonwealth, by* " *bringing up their children.*"

The ſenate ſhowed, by this decree, that it knew in what conſiſted the true riches of a ſtate: and ſo fine a ſentiment, joined to the teſtimonies of a paternal tenderneſs, made ſo much impreſſion on the minds of the people, that they became capable of ſupporting extremities for the preſervation of their country.

But, when the people deſerved to be blamed, the ſenate did it with a gravity and vigor worthy that venerable council; as happened in the difference between the people of Ardea and Aricia. The ſtory is too memorable, not to be related here. Thoſe two petty nations were at war about ſome lands, that each of them laid claim to. At length, weary of fighting, they agreed to refer the matter to the deciſion of the Roman people, whoſe equity was revered by all its neighbors. The tribes were aſſembled; and the people diſcovering, in the courſe of the examination, that thoſe lands, claimed by others, belonged by right to it, adjudged them to itſelf. The ſenate, though ſatisfied that the people had judged rightly in the main, could not bear that the Romans ſhould have belied their native generoſity, and baſely diſappointed the hopes of their neighbors, who had ſubmitted themſelves to their arbitration. There was nothing that generous court did not try, to prevent a deciſion of ſo pernicious a precedent, where the judges took to themſelves

Tit. Liv. iii. 71. iv. 7. 9, 10.

ſelves the lands conteſted by the parties. After ſentence was given, the men of Ardea, whoſe right was the more apparent, full of indignation at ſo iniquitous a judgement, were ready to take vengeance by arms. The ſenate made no ſcruple to declare to them publicly, that it was as ſenſible as themſelves of the injury that had been done them; that indeed it had no power to abrogate a decree of the people; but that, if after ſuch an abuſe they would rely upon the court for the reparation they had reaſon to expect, the ſenate would take ſuch care to procure them ſatisfaction, that they ſhould have no farther cauſe of complaint. The Ardeatians relied on the promiſe. Soon after, happened to them an affair that might have utterly ruined their city, but for timely ſuccors they received from the Romans by order of the ſenate; by which they thought themſelves over-paid for the territory that had been taken from them, and wiſhed onely an opportunity of thanking ſo faithful friends. But the ſenate was not contented. till, by cauſing the land to be reſtored, which the Roman people had awarded to itſelf, it aboliſhed the remembrance of ſo infamous a judgement.

Polyb. Tit. Liv. Cic. de Off. iii.

I attempt not to tell you, how many ſuch things the ſenate did; how many perjured citizens, who would not keep their word, or quibbled about their oath, it delivered up to the enemy; how many bad counſels it condemned, that had met with good ſucceſs. All I ſhall ſay is, that that auguſt court inſpired

ſpired the Roman people with nothing but what was great; and gave on all occaſions a high idea of its counſels, ever perſwaded that reputation is the firmeſt ſupport of ſtates.

We may believe, that, in a people ſo wiſely directed, the rewards and puniſhments were appointed with the greateſt conſideration. Beſides that ſervice and a zeal for the good of the ſtate were the ſureſt ſteps to promotion; military actions had a thouſand rewards, which coſt the public nothing, but which were infinitely precious to private perſons, on account of the annexed glory ſo dear to that warlike people. A crown of gold very thin, but moſt commonly a wreath of oak-leaves, or of laurel, or of ſome yet viler herbage, became ineſtimable among the ſoldiers, who knew no more honorable marks than thoſe of virtue, nor any more noble diſtinction than that which proceeded from glorious actions.

The ſenate, whoſe approbation was itſelf a reward, knew when to praiſe, and when to blame. Immediately after battle, the conſuls, and other generals, beſtowed publicly, on the ſoldiers and officers, the praiſe or the blame they deſerved; but themſelves waited, in ſuſpence, the judgement of the ſenate, which judged of the wiſdom of counſels, without ſuffering itſelf to be dazzled by the happineſs of events. Commendations were valuable, becauſe they were beſtowed with knowlege. Blame ſtung generous hearts to the quick, and retained the meaneſt

ſouls in their duty. The chaſtiſements, which attended evil actions, kept the ſoldiers in aw, while rewards and glory, properly diſpenſed, raiſed them above themſelves.

He, who can inſtil into the mind of a people, patience of hardſhip, the greatneſs of its nation, and the love of its country, may boaſt of having found the moſt proper conſtitution of a ſtate for producing great men. Great men are doubleſs the ſtrength of an empire. Nature does not fail to raiſe, in all countries, exalted geniuſſes and ſpirits; but ſhe muſt be helped to form them. What forms them, what finiſhes them, is, ſtrong ſentiments and noble impreſſions, which diffuſe themſelves in all minds, and paſs inſenſibly from one to another. What renders our nobility ſo fierce in fight, and ſo daring in enterpriſe? The opinion imbibed from infancy, and eſtabliſhed by the unanimous ſenſe of the nation, that a gentleman without courage degrades himſelf, and is not worthy to brethe the common air. All the Romans were reared in thoſe ſentiments; and the people diſputed with the nobles, who more ſhould act up to thoſe vigorous maxims. During the beſt times of Rome, childhood itſelf was enured to hardſhip: nothing was to be heard but the greatneſs of the Roman name. It behooved to go to war, when the public commanded it; and to toil without ceaſing, to encamp winter and ſummer, to obey without reſiſtance, to die

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or to conquer. Fathers, who trained not their children in theſe principles, and ſo as to render them fit for the ſervice of the ſtate, were called to an account before the magiſtrates, and brought in guilty of high-treaſon againſt the public. When things have once got into this way, great men make one another; and, if Rome produced more than any city before her, it was not at all by chance; but that the Roman ſtate, conſtituted in the manner we have ſeen, was, ſo to ſpeak, of a complexion neceſſarily the moſt productive of heroes.

A ſtate, which finds itſelf thus formed, finds itſelf, at the ſame time, of an incomparable ſtrength, and never thinks itſelf without reſource. So ſee we that the Romans never deſpaired of their affairs; either, when Porſena, king of Etruria, ſtarved them within their walls; or, when the Gauls, after burning their city, over-ran their whole country, and cooped them up in the Capitol; or, when Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, as able as enterpriſing, terrified them with his elephants, and defeated all their armies; or, when Annibal, already ſo many times victor, killed them above fifty thouſand of their beſt ſoldiers, in the battle of Cannae.

Then it was that the conſul Terentius Varro, who had juſt loſt, through his own fault, ſo great a battle, was received at Rome as if he had been victorious; onely becauſe, in ſo great a diſaſter, he had not deſpaired of the republic's affairs. The ſenate thanked

him publicly for it, and from that moment reſolved, according to the ancient maxims, to harken, in that ſad ſituation, to no propoſals of peace. The enemy was ſtruck; the people took heart, and imagined it had ſtill ſome reſources, known onely to the wiſdom of the ſenate.

In fact, that conſtancy of the ſenate, amid ſo many misfortunes, which happened one after another, proceeded not ſo much from an obſtinate reſolution of never yielding to fortune, as from a profound knowlege of the Roman ſtrength, and of the enemy. Rome knew by her Cenſus, that is, by the roll of her citizens, ever exactly continued down from Servius Tullius; ſhe knew, I ſay, all the citizens ſhe had capable of bearing arms, and what ſhe might expect from the youth daily riſing. Thus ſhe managed her ſtrength, againſt an enemy, who came from the borders of Afric; whom time muſt deſtroy of itſelf, in a forain country, where ſuccors were ſo tardy; and to whom his very victories, which coſt him ſo much blood, muſt prove fatal. Therefore, whatever loſs had happened, the ſenate, always appriſed of what good ſoldiers were left, had onely to temporiſe, and never ſuffered itſelf to be diſmayed. When, by the defeat of Cannae, and by the revolt that followed, it ſaw the republic's forces ſo diminiſhed, that ſcarce any defence could have been made, had the enemy puſhed; it ſupported itſelf by its ſpirit, and, without minding its loſſes, ſet itſelf

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to watch the motions of the victor. As ſoon as it was perceived, that Annibal, inſtead of purſuing his victory, thought of nothing for ſome time but enjoying it, the ſenate took freſh courage, and ſaw plainly, that an enemy capable of balking his fortune, and of ſuffering himſelf to be dazzled by his ſucceſſes, was not born to vanquiſh the Romans. From that time Rome formed daily greater enterpriſes; and Annibal, ſkilful, courageous, victorious, as he was, could not hold out againſt her.

It is eaſy to judge, by this ſingle event, with whom the advantage at laſt muſt remain. Annibal, fluſhed with his ſucceſſes, thought the taking of Rome too eaſy a matter; and ſo grew remiſs. Rome, amidſt her diſaſters, loſt neither courage nor confidence; but undertook greater things than ever. It was preſently after the overthrow at Cannae, that ſhe beſieged Syracuſe and Capua; one unfaithful to treaties, the other to allegiance. Syracuſe could not defend herſelf, either by her fortifications, or by the inventions of her Archimedes. Annibal's victorious army came vainly to the relief of Capua. But the Romans forced that captain to raiſe the ſiege of Nola. A little after, the Carthaginians defeated and killed the two Scipio's in Spain. In that whole war had nothing happened more affecting or more fatal to the Romans. The loſs made them exert their laſt efforts: young Scipio, ſon to one of thoſe generals, not contented with retrieving the Roman affairs in

in Spain, went and carried the war to the Carthaginians, into their own city; and gave the finiſhing ſtroke to their empire.

That Scipio could not find at Carthage ſuch reſiſtance as had Annibal at Rome, you will be convinced, if you look but a little into the conſtitution of the two cities.

Polyb. i. 3. vi. 49. &c. Rome was in her vigor; and Carthage, which had begun to decline, was ſupported by nothing but Annibal. Rome had her ſenate united, and at this preciſe time prevailed that unanimity ſo commended in the book of Maccabees. The ſenate of Carthage was divided by old irreconcilable factions; and Annibal's overthrow had been matter of joy to the moſt conſiderable part of the grandees. Rome, ſtill poor, and attached to agriculture, bred an excellent ſoldiery, who breathed nothing but glory, and whoſe ſole ambition was to raiſe the Roman name. Carthage, enriched by her trade, ſaw all her citizens attached to their cities, and quite unacquainted with war. Whereas the Roman armies were almoſt all compoſed of citizens, Carthage on the contrary held it as a maxim, to have none but forainers, often as much to be feared by their pay-maſters, as by thoſe againſt whom they are employed.

Theſe defects proceeded partly from the firſt inſtitution of the republic of Carthage, and had partly introduced themſelves with time. Carthage was ever fond of riches; and Ariſtotle accuſes her of being ſo wedded to them, as to give her citizens occaſion of

Ariſt. Pol. ii. 11.

preferring

preferring them to virtue. By this means a republic quite formed for war, as the ſame Ariſtotle obſerves, came at length to neglect the exerciſe of it. That philoſopher does not cenſure her for employing onely forain troops; and ſo it is to be thought ſhe did not fall, till long after, into this error. But riches lead a mercantile ſtate naturally to it: men chooſe to enjoy their fortunes, and think to find every thing in their money. Carthage fancied herſelf ſtrong, becauſe ſhe had many ſoldiers; nor had ſhe been able to learn, from the many revolts in latter times made againſt her, that nothing is more unfortunate than a ſtate ſupported ſolely by forainers, in whom is to be found neither zeal, ſecurity, nor obedience.

The great genius of Annibal ſeemed indeed to have remedied the defects of his commonwealth. It is looked on as a prodigy, that, in a forain country, and during full ſixteen years, he never met with, not to ſay a ſedition, but even a murmur, in an army wholely made up of different nations, who, without underſtanding one another, agreed ſo well in underſtanding the orders of their leader. But all Annibal's ſkill could not ſupport Carthage, when, attacked within her walls by ſuch a general as Scipio, ſhe found herſelf without forces. She muſt recall Annibal, who had no troops left but ſuch as were weakened more by their own victories than by thoſe of the Romans, and completed their own ruin by the length of the

Polyb. xi. 17.

the march. So Annibal was beaten, and Carthage, formerly miſtreſs of all Afric, of the Mediterranean, and of the commerce of the world, was forced to ſubmit to the yoke that Scipio impoſed on her.

Such was the glorious fruit of the Roman patience! People, who gathered reſolution and ſtrength from their misfortunes, had great reaſon to think that all was ſafe, when hope was not loſt; and Polybius very well concluded, that Carthage muſt at length do homage to Rome, by the very nature of the two republics.

Now, had the Romans made uſe of thoſe great qualities, political and military, only to preſerve their dominions in peace, or to protect their oppreſſed allies, as they pretended, their equity were as admirable as their valor and their prudence. But, when they had taſted the ſweets of victory, they would have every thing to yield to them; nor aſpired at aught leſs than firſt to give laws to their neighbors, and afterwards to the world.

To attain this end, they knew perfectly how to preſerve their allies, to unite them, to ſow diſcord and jealouſy among their enemies, to penetrate their counſels, to diſcover their intelligences, and to diſappoint their deſigns.

They watched not onely the motions of their enemies, but even the progreſs of their neighbors; ſtudious either to divide, or ſome other way to counterbalance, the powers that

grew

grew too formidable, or ſet too great obſtacles to their conqueſts.

So the Greeks were in the wrong, to imagine, in Polybiuſſes time, that Rome grew rather by chance than by conduct. They were too fond of their own nation, and too jealous of the people whom they perceived riſing above them: or perhaps, ſeing afar the Roman empire advancing ſo faſt, without fathoming the counſels by which that great body moved, they attributed to chance, as the cuſtom of men is, the effects of which the cauſes were to them unknown. But Polybius, whoſe intimacy with the Romans let him into the ſecret of their affairs, and who ſo narrowly obſerved the Roman policy during the Punic wars, was more equitable than the other Grecians, and ſaw that Romes conqueſts were the conſequence of a well digeſted deſign. For he ſaw the Romans, from the middle of the Mediterranean, caſt their eyes all around, as far as the Spains and Syria; obſerve what was paſſing; advance regularly, and ſtep by ſtep; ſecure their dominion, before they extended it; not burden themſelves with too many affairs; diſſemble for a time, and then declare themſelves properly; wait till Annibal were conquered, for the diſarming of Philip, king of Macedon, who had favored him; after beginning the affair, never to be weary, or ſatisfied, until it were completed; not allow the Macedonians a moment to recollect themſelves; and, after vanquiſhing them, reſtore by Polyb. l. 63.

by a public decree to Greece, ſo long captive, the liberty ſhe no longer dreamt of; by this means to ſpred terror on one hand, and on the other a veneration of their name: this was ſufficient to conclude, that the Romans advanced not to the conqueſt of the world by chance, but by conduct.

Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. ii.

This ſaw Polybius in the days of the progreſs of Rome. Dionyſius the Halicarnaſſian, who wrote after the eſtabliſhment of the empire, and in the time of Auguſtus, has drawn the ſame concluſion, by reſuming, from their origin, the ancient inſtitutions of the republic, ſo proper in their own nature to form an invincible and a ruling people. You have ſeen enough of them to conclude with thoſe wiſe hiſtorians, and to condemn Plutarch, who, ever partial to his Greeks, aſcribes to fortune alone the Roman greatneſs, and to virtue alone that of Alexander.

Plut. Lib. de fort. Alex. & de fort. Rom.

But the more thoſe hiſtorians ſhow of deſign in Romes conqueſts, the more do they exhibit injuſtice in them. This vice is inſeparable from the deſire of rule, which for that reaſon is juſtly condemned by the precepts of the goſpel. But philoſophy ſuffices to make us underſtand, that ſtrength is given us to preſerve our property, and not to uſurp that of others. This has Cicero acknowleged; and the rules he has laid down for the making of war, are a manifeſt condemnation of the conduct of the Romans.

Cic. de Off. iii.

It is true they appeared pretty equitable at the beginning of their commonwealth. They

ſeemed

ſeemed willing themſelves to moderate their warlike humor, by confining it within the bounds which equity preſcribed. What could be more beautiful, or more ſacred, than the college of Feciales or Heralds? whether founded by Numa, as Dionyſius the Halicarnaſſian affirms; or by Ancus Martius, as Livy will have it. This council was eſtabliſhed to judge whether a war were juſt: before the ſenate propoſed it, or the people reſolved it, this enquiry into the equity always took place. When the juſtice of the war was acknowleged, the ſenate concerted the meaſures for undertaking it: but, firſt of all, they ſent to demand reſtitution in form, and never came to extremities, till after the exhauſting of every gentle way. A bleſſed inſtitution, if ever was one! and which may put Chriſtians to the bluſh, whom a God, come into the world to pacify all things, has not been able to inſpire with charity and peace. But what avail the beſt inſtitutions, when at length they degenerate into mere ceremonies? The ſweets of conquering and commanding ſoon corrupted, in the Romans, what rectitude natural equity had given them. The deliberations of the Fecials came to be but a uſeleſs formality among them; and, though they exerciſed towards their greateſt enemies acts of equity, even of clemency, ambition ſuffered not juſtice to reign long in their counſels.

Dion. Hal. ii. Ant. Rom.

Tit. Liv. i. 32.

Moreover, their unjuſt practices were ſo much the more dangerous, the better they knew how to clothe them in the guiſe of equity; and that they inſenſibly brought kings and nations into bondage, under color of protecting and defending them.

Add we, that they were cruel to thoſe who reſiſted them; another quality pretty natural to conquerors, who know that panic gains more than half the conqueſts. Muſt power be acquired at this price; and is command ſo ſweet, that men ſhould chooſe to purchaſe it by ſo inhuman actions? The Romans, to ſpred terror around, affected to leave dreadful ſpectacles of cruelty in the cities they had taken, and to appear mercileſs to ſuch as waited force; without ſparing even kings, whom, after in triumph leading them, loaded with chains, and dragged behind their cars like ſlaves, they barbarouſly put to death.

Pol. x. 15.

But, if they were cruel and unjuſt in the view to conquer, they governed with equity the ſubdued nations. They endeavored to give the ſubjected a reliſh for their government, and thought this the beſt means of ſecuring their conqueſts. The ſenate was a check on the governors, and did juſtice to the people. That court was regarded as the refuge of the oppreſſed: nor indeed were extortion and violence known among the Romans, till the latter days of the commonwealth; and, till then, the moderation of their

their magiſtrates was admired over the earth.

They were therefore none of thoſe brutal and avaricious conquerors, who brethe nothing but plunder, or eſtabliſh their dominion on the ruin of the conquered countries. The Romans bettered all they took, by giving to flouriſh in them juſtice, agriculture, commerce, the arts even and the ſciences, when the reliſh had been once introduced.

This it was that gave them the moſt flouriſhing, and beſt eſtabliſhed, as well as the moſt extenſive empire that ever exiſted. From Euphrates and Tanais to Herculeſes Pillars, and the Atlantic ocean, all lands and all ſeas obeyed them. From the middle, and, as it were, the center of the Mediterranean, they graſped the whole extent of that ſea; penetrating far and wide all the ſtates around, and keeping it as the immediate communication of their empire. We are ſtill frightened, when we conſider, that the nations which make now ſo formidable kingdoms, all the Gauls, all the Spains, almoſt all Great-Britain, Illyria as far as the Danube, Germany to the Elbe, Afric to her dreadful and impenetrable deſarts, Greece, Thrace, Syria, Egypt, all the kingdoms of the Leſs Aſia; alſo thoſe contained between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and others which perhaps I forget, or chooſe not to mention, were, during many ages, no more than Roman provinces. All the nations of our world, even the moſt barbarous, have

reverenced their power; and the Romans eſtabliſhed almoſt every-where laws and politeneſs with their empire.

It is a ſort of prodigy, that in ſo vaſt an empire, which comprehended ſo many nations and kingdoms, the people ſhould have been ſo obedient, and revolts ſo rare. Of this the Roman policy had taken care by various methods, which I muſt explain to you in a few words.

The Roman colonies, ſettled in all quarters of the empire, produced two admirable effects: one, that of ridding the city of ſupernumerary citizens, moſt of them poor; the other, that of guarding the principal poſts, and accuſtoming, by degrees, forain nations to the Roman manners.

Theſe colonies, which carried their priviſeges along with them, remained ſtill annexed to the body of the commonwealth, and peopled the whole empire with Romans.

But, beſide the colonies, a great number of cities obtained for their citizens the right of Roman denizens; and, united by their intereſt to the ruling people, they kept the neighboring cities in their duty.

The conſequence was at length, that all the ſubjects of the empire thought themſelves Romans. The honors of the victorious people communicated themſelves gradually to the vanquiſhed: the ſenate was open to them, and they might aſpire even to the empire. Thus, by the Roman clemency, all nations

tions proved but one nation, and Rome was regarded as the common country.

How greatly were navigation and commerce facilitated, by that wonderful union of all the nations of the world, under one and the ſame empire! The Roman ſociety confirmed everything; and, except certain frontiers, moleſted ſometimes by their neighbors, all the reſt of the world enjoyed a profound peace. Neither Greece, nor Aſia Minor, nor Syria, nor Egypt, nor, in ſhort, moſt of the other provinces, were ever without war, but under the Roman empire; and it is eaſy to apprehend that ſo agreable an intercourſe of nations, muſt ſerve to maintain concord and obedience in the whole body of the empire.

The legions diſtributed for the guard of the frontiers, by defending it without, ſecured it within. It was not the cuſtom of the Romans to have citadels in their ſtrong places, or to fortify their frontiers; and I ſcarce find this care begin, till under Valentinian I. Before that time they placed the ſtrength and ſecurity of the empire ſolely in the troops, which were ſo diſpoſed that they ſupported one another. Beſides, as they had orders always to encamp, the towns were no way incommoded by them; and diſcipline withheld the ſoldiers from ſtraggling over the country. Thus the Roman armies diſturbed neither trade nor tillage. They formed, in their camp, a ſort of city, which differed nothing from others, but that there labors were continual, diſcipline more ſevere, and command

more ſteady. They were always ready for the ſmalleſt motion; and it was enough to keep the people in their duty, to ſhow them in their neighborhood that invincible ſoldiery.

But nothing ſo much maintained the peace of the empire, as the courſe of juſtice. The ancient republic had eſtabliſhed it; the emperors and ſages explained it upon the ſame foundations; all nations, even the moſt barbarous, regarded it with admiration; and hence it chiefly was, that the Romans were judged worthy to be maſters of the world. Now, if the Roman laws have appeared ſo ſacred, that their majeſty ſtill ſubſiſts, notwithſtanding the ruin of the empire; it is becauſe good ſenſe, which controuls human life, reigns through the whole; and that no where is to be found a finer application of the principles of natural equity.

Notwithſtanding this greatneſs of the Roman name, notwithſtanding the profound policy, and all the fine inſtitutions of that famous republic, ſhe bore in her boſom the cauſe of her ruin, in the perpetual jealouſy of the people againſt the ſenate, or rather of
Dion. Hal. the Plebeians againſt the Patricians. Romu-
l. lus had eſtabliſhed this diſtinction. It was fit that the kings ſhould have ſome diſtinguiſhed perſons, whom they might attach to themſelves by particular ties, and by whom they might govern the reſt of the people. For this purpoſe did Romulus ſelect the fathers, of whom he formed the body of the ſenate:
Ibid. ſo they were called, on account of their dignity

nity and age; and from them deſcended the Patrician families. Moreover, whatever power Romulus reſerved to the people, he had made the plebeians in many reſpects dependant on the patricians; and that ſubordination, indiſpenſable to royalty, had been preſerved not onely under the kings, but alſo in the commonwealth. It was from among the patricians, that the ſenators were always taken. To the patricians belonged employments, commands, dignities, even that of the prieſthood; and the fathers, who had been the authors of liberty, did not give up their prerogatives. But jealouſy ſoon took place between the two orders. For I need not here mention the Roman knights, a third, and, as it were, middle rank between the patricians and common people; which joined ſometimes one ſide, ſometimes the other. It was therefore between theſe orders that jealouſy aroſe, which revived on various occaſions: but the profound cauſe that kept it alive, was the love of liberty.

The fundamental maxim of the commonwealth was, to conſider liberty as a thing inſeparable from the Roman name. A people bred in this ſpirit, or, to ſay more, a people who believed itſelf born to command other nations, and whom Virgil, for that reaſon, calls ſo nobly, a people widely king, would receive laws from none but itſelf.

The authority of the ſenate was judged neceſſary to moderate the public councils, which, without that qualifier, would have been

been tumultuous. But, in the main, it reſted with the people to beſtow commands, to enact laws, to determine peace and war. A people, who enjoyed the moſt eſſential rights of royalty, entered in ſome ſort into the ſpirit of kings. It was very willing to be counſelled, but would not be controuled, by the ſenate. Whoever appeared imperious, whoever exalted himſelf above others, in a word, whoever violated, or ſeemed to violate, the equality a free ſtate requires, became ſuſpected by that delicate people. The love of liberty, of glory, and of conqueſts, rendered ſuch ſpirits hard to manage; and that boldneſs, which prompted them to attempt every thing abroad, could not fail of breeding diſſenſion at home.

Thus Rome, ſo jealous of her liberty, through that paſſion for it which was the foundation of her ſtate, ſaw diviſion take place amongſt all the orders of which ſhe was compoſed. Hence thoſe furious jealouſies between ſenate and people, patricians and plebeians; the one ſtill alledging, that exceſſive liberty deſtroys itſelf at laſt; and the other fearing, on the contrary, leſt power, which of its own nature is ever growing, ſhould at length degenerate into tyranny.

Between theſe extremes, a people, in other reſpects ſo wiſe, could not find the medium. Private intereſt, which makes thoſe of any ſide carry, farther than they ought, even what they have begun for the public good, did not ſuffer them to abide by moderate

rate counſels. Ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirits excited jealouſies, to avail themſelves of them; and thoſe jealouſies, covered or open, according to juncture, but ever living in the bottom of their hearts, at length occaſioned that great revolution which happened in the time of Ceſar, and the others that ſucceeded it.

VII. The progreſſion of Romes revolutions explained.

It will be eaſy for you to diſcover all their cauſes, if, after rightly apprehending the temper of the Romans, and the conſtitution of their commonwealth, you take care to obſerve a certain number of principal events, which, though happening at pretty diſtant periods, have a manifeſt connexion with each other. Here they ſtand collected for your greater eaſe.

Romulus, bred in war, and reputed the ſon of Mars, built Rome, and peopled it with perſons of all ſorts got together, ſhepherds, ſlaves, robbers, who had come to ſeek freedom and impunity in the aſylum he had opened to all comers. Of better quality came alſo ſome, and of better character.

This wild people he trained in the ſpirit of attempting every thing by force; and by this means they had the very women, whom they married.

By degrees he eſtabliſhed order, and reſtrained the ſpirits by ſalutary laws. He began with religion, which he regarded the foundation of ſtates. He made it ſerious as ſolemn, and as modeſt as the darkneſs of idolatry would permit. Strange religions and

and ſacrifices, not eſtabliſhed by the Roman cuſtoms, were forbidden. This law was afterwards diſpenſed with; but Romuluſſes intention was that it ſhould be kept, and ſomething of it was always retained.

Dion. Hal. ii. He ſelected, from all the people, the beſt of them, to form the public council, which he called the Senate. He compoſed it of two hundred ſenators, whoſe number was afterwards augmented. The reſt were ſtiled plebeians; that is, common people.

The ſenate was to digeſt and propoſe all affairs: ſome it ſettled ſupremely with the king; but the more general were referred to the deciſion of the people.

Romulus, in an aſſembly where a ſtorm ſuddenly aroſe, was torn to pieces by the ſenators, who thought him grown imperious; and the ſpirit of independance began thenceforth to appear in that order.

To appeaſe the people, who loved their prince; and to give a high idea of the city's founder; the ſenators publiſhed, that the gods had taken him up into heaven: and they cauſed altars to be erected to him.

Numa Pompilius, the ſecond king, in a long and profound peace, finiſhed the forming of their manners, and the ſettling of religion upon the foundations which Romulus had laid.

Tullus Hoſtilius eſtabliſhed, by ſtrict regulations, military diſcipline and the orders of war; which his ſucceſſor Ancus Martius accompanied with ſacred ceremonies, in the view

view of rendering the ſoldier's art rational and religious.

After him, Tarquinius Priſcus, to make creatures, augmented the number of ſenators to that of three hundred, in which they remained many ages; and he began the great works, that promiſed public accommodation.

Servius Tullius projected the eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth, under the command of two annual magiſtrates, to be choſen by the people.

In hatred of Tarquin the proud, the royalty was aboliſhed, with horrid execrations againſt any who ſhould attempt to reſtore it; and Brutus made the people ſwear, eternally to maintain its liberty.

The memoirs of Servius Tullius were followed in this revolution. Conſuls, elected by the people from among the patricians, were made equal to kings, except that they were two, commanding by turns, and that they changed yearly.

Collatinus named conſul with Brutus, as having been, with him, the author of liberty; though huſband to Lucretia, whoſe death had given occaſion to the change, and more concerned than all others in revenging the outrage ſhe had received; became a ſuſpected perſon, becauſe he was of the royal family; and ſo was expelled.

Valerius, ſubſtituted to him, upon returning from an expedition, in which he had delivered his country from the Veientians and Etrurians, was ſuſpected by the people of affecting

ſecting tyranny, on account of a houſe he was building on an eminence. Not onely did he ſtop building; but, turning quite popular, though a patrician, he enacted the law which allows an appeal to the people, and appropriates to it, in certain caſes, judgement in the laſt reſort.

By this new law the conſular power was weakened in its origin, and the people extended its claims.

On occaſion of the executions for dets, practiſed by the rich upon the poor, the people, riſing againſt the power of the conſuls and ſenate, made the famous retreat to mount Aventine.

Dion. Hal. vi. Nothing was brethed but liberty in thoſe aſſemblies; nor did the Roman people think itſelf free, if it had not ſome lawful means of withſtanding the ſenate. There was a neceſſity of granting it peculiar magiſtrates, called Tribunes of the people, who ſhould have power to aſſemble it, and to ſupport it againſt the authority of the conſuls, either by oppoſition or by appeal.

Thoſe magiſtrates, to get into credit, fomented the diviſion between the orders; and ceaſed not to flatter the people, by propoſing, that the lands of the conquered countries, or the price to ariſe from their ſale, ſhould be portioned among the citizens.

The ſenate always reſolutely oppoſed thoſe laws, ſo deſtructive of the ſtate; and inſiſted, that the price of the lands ſhould be awarded to the public treaſury.

The

The people ſuffered itſelf to be led by its ſeditious magiſtrates; and yet preſerved equity enough to admire the virtue of the great men who withſtood it.

Againſt theſe domeſtic diſſenſions, the ſenate found no better remedy, than continually to ſtart new occaſions of forain wars. Theſe prevented diviſions from being carried to extremity, and reunited the orders in the defence of their country.

While wars prove proſperous, and conqueſts multiply, jealouſies reawaken.

Both parties, tired with diviſions, which threatened the ruin of the ſtate, agree to make laws for mutual quiet, and to eſtabliſh the equality which ought to prevail in a free city.

Each of the orders claims a right to the enacting of thoſe laws.

The jealouſy, augmented by theſe mutual pretentions, makes them reſolve with one accord on an embaſſy into Greece, to enquire into the inſtitutions of the cities of that country, and eſpecially the laws of Solon, which were the moſt popular. The laws of the Twelve Tables are enacted; and the Decemvirs, who digeſted them, are deprived of the power they abuſed.

Whilſt all is quiet, and ſo equitable laws ſeem to ſecure the public peace for ever, diſſenſions rekindle by the new claims of the people, who aſpires at the honors and the conſulſhip, till then reſerved to the firſt order.

The law for admitting it to thoſe dignities is propoſed. Rather than debaſe the conſulate, the Fathers conſent to the creation of three new magiſtrates, who ſhall have the authority of conſuls, under the name of Military Tribunes; and the people is admitted to this honor.

The people, contented with eſtabliſhing its rights, uſes its victory with moderation; and for ſome time beſtows the command upon patricians onely.

After long diſputes, the conſulſhip is again in queſtion; and, by degrees, the honors become common to both orders, though, in the elections, greater regard is always had to patricians.

App. Praef. op. The wars continue; and the Romans after five hundred years ſubject the Ciſalpine Gauls, their principal enemies, and all Italy.

Here commence the Punic wars; and things come to ſuch a height, that neither of the jealous nations thinks ſhe can ſtand, but by the fall of the other.

Rome, ready to ſink, is chiefly ſupported, during her misfortunes, by the conſtancy and wiſdom of the ſenate.

At laſt the Roman patience carries it: Annibal is vanquiſhed, and Carthage ſubdued by Scipio (thence) Africanus.

Victorious Rome makes prodigious progreſs, during two hundred years, both by ſea and land; and reduces the whole world under her power.

In

In theſe times, and ſince the ruin of Carthage, the offices, of which the dignity as well as profit augmented with the empire, were ſtickled for with fury. The ambitious claimants thought onely of flattering the people; and the concord of the orders, kept up by the buſineſs of the Punic wars, was diſturbed more than ever. The Gracchi put all into confuſion, and their ſeditious overtures were the beginning of the civil wars.

Then began citizens to wear arms, and act by open force in the aſſemblies of the Roman people, where every one before wiſhed to prevail by lawful methods onely, and with liberty of opinion. Val. Pac. ii. 3.

The wiſe conduct of the ſenate, and the great wars that enſued, moderated the broils.

Marius, a plebeian, and a good ſoldier, with his military eloquence and ſeditious harangues, in which he was continually attacking the pride of the nobles, revived the jealouſy of the people, and roſe by this means to the higheſt honors.

Sylla, a patrician, put himſelf at the head of the oppoſite party, and became an object of jealouſy to Marius.

Cabal and corruption now do every thing at Rome. The love of country, and regard to laws, become extinguiſhed there.

To crown the woes, the wars of Aſia teach the Romans luxury, and augment their avarice.

At this time, the generals began to attach to themſelves their ſoldiers; who, till then,

regarded onely in them the character of public authority.

Sylla, in the war againſt Mithridates, to gain his ſoldiers, ſuffered them to enrich themſelves.

Marius, on his ſide, propoſed to his partiſans a ſhare of both money and lands.

By theſe means maſters of their troops, one upon pretence of ſupporting the ſenate, the other under the name of the people, they made a furious war upon each other in the very heart of the city.

The party of Marius, and of the people, was totally overthrown; and Sylla rendered himſelf abſolute under the title of dictator.

He made dreadful ſlaughters; and treated the people harſhly, both by words and actions, even in the lawful aſſemblies.

More powerful, and better eſtabliſhed than ever, he reduced himſelf to private life; but not till he had ſhown that the Roman people could brook a maſter.

Pompey, whom Sylla had raiſed, ſucceeded to great part of his power. He flattered ſometimes the people, ſometimes the ſenate, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf; but his inclination and intereſt attached him at length to the latter party.

Conqueror of the pirates, the Spains, and the Eaſt, he becomes all-powerful in the commonwealth, and particularly in the ſenate.

Ceſar, who will at leaſt be his equal, turns to the ſide of the people; and, imitating in his

his conſulſhip the moſt ſeditious tribunes, propoſes, with the partition of lands, the moſt popular laws he can deviſe.

The conqueſt of the Gauls carries to the higheſt pitch the glory and power of Ceſar.

Pompey and he unite through intereſt, and then fall out through jealouſy. The civil war kindles. Pompey imagines that his name alone will ſupport his cauſe, and neglects himſelf. Ceſar, active and provident, gets the victory, and becomes maſter.

He makes ſeveral trials whether the Romans can be reconciled to the name of King; which ſerve onely to render him odious. To aggravate the public hatred, the ſenate decrees him honors till then unheard-of in Rome: ſo that he is killed in full ſenate as a tyrant.

Antony his creature, who chances to be conſul at the time of his death, ſtirs up the people againſt his murderers, and endeavors to improve the troubles towards uſurping the ſoverain authority. Lepidus, who had alſo a great command under Ceſar, endeavored to maintain it. In fine, the young Ceſar, at the age of nineteen, undertook to revenge his father's death, and ſought occaſion to ſucceed to his power.

He knew how to ſerve his own intereſt by the enemies of his family, and by his very competitors.

His father's troops devote themſelves to him, touched with the name of Ceſar, and the prodigious largeſſes he made them.

The ſenate can no more: all is now done by force, and by the ſoldiers, at the ſervice of the higheſt bidder.

In this fatal juncture the triumvirate overthrew whatever Rome was breeding moſt courageous and moſt oppoſite to tyranny. Ceſar and Antony defeated Brutus and Caſſius: liberty expired with them. The victors, after ridding themſelves of the puny Lepidus, made various agreements, and various partitions. Ceſar, as the abler, having always the better ſhare, gained Rome to his intereſt, and got the upper-hand. Antony attempts in vain to retrieve himſelf; and the battle of Actium ſubjects the whole empire to the power of Auguſtus Ceſar.

Rome, tired and exhauſted by ſo many civil wars, to purchaſe reſt, is fain to renounce her liberty.

The houſe of the Ceſars, fixing in itſelf, under the great name of Emperor, the command of the armies, exerciſes an abſolute power.

Rome, under the Ceſars, more careful to preſerve than extend her domain, makes hardly any new conqueſt, but in driving off the barbarians, who attempt to get into the empire.

At the death of Caligula, the ſenate, on the point of reſtoring liberty and the conſular power, is prevented by the military people, who will have a perpetual chief, and that their chief to be maſter.

In

In the revolts, cauſed by the violences of Nero, each army chooſes an emperor; and the military men ſoon learn that it is theirs to beſtow the empire.

They go ſo far as to ſell it publicly to the higheſt bidder, and accuſtom themſelves to ſhake off the yoke. With obedience diſcipline is loſt. The good princes ſtruggle in vain to preſerve it, and their zeal to maintain the ancient practice of war ſerves onely to expoſe them to the fury of the ſoldiers.

The changes of emperors, each army attempting to make its own, give riſe to civil wars, and ſhocking maſſacres.

Thus the empire is enervated by relaxation of diſcipline, and at the ſame time waſted by inteſtine wars.

Amid ſo many diſorders, the aw and majeſty of the Roman name diminiſhes. The often vanquiſhed Parthians become formidable eaſtward, under the ancient name of Perſians, which they reaſſume. The northern nations, who inhabited cold and uncultivated lands, attracted by the beauty and richneſs of thoſe of the empire, attempt its entrance on all ſides.

One man no longer ſuffices to bear the load of an empire ſo vaſt, and ſo powerfully attacked.

The prodigious multitude of wars, and the humor of the ſoldiers, who would be headed by none but Emperors and Ceſars, neceſſitates their multiplication.

The

The empire itſelf being now regarded as an hereditary eſtate, emperors multiply naturally by the multitude of the children of the princes.

Marcus Aurelius aſſociates his brother in the empire. Severus makes his two ſons emperors. The exigence of affairs obliges Diocletian to divide the Eaſt and Weſt between himſelf and Maximian: each, overburdened, eaſes himſelf by chooſing two Ceſars.

Through this multitude of emperors and Ceſars, the ſtate is loaded with an exceſſive charge, the body of the empire is diſunited, and civil wars multiply.

Conſtantine, ſon of the emperor Conſtantius Chlorus, portions the empire as an heritage among his children: poſterity follows theſe examples, and a ſingle emperor is ſcarce any more to be ſeen.

The ſoftneſs of Honorius and Valentinian III. emperors of the Weſt, brings every thing to ruin.

Italy, and Rome herſelf, are ſacked at different times, and become the prey of barbarians.

The whole Weſt lies open to any invaders. Afric is ſeized by the Vandals, Spain by the Viſigoths, Gaul by the Francs, Great-Britain by the Saxons, Rome and Italy itſelf by the Herulians, and afterwards by the Oſtrogoths. The Roman emperors confine themſelves to the Eaſt, and abandon the reſt, even Rome and Italy.

The

The empire recovers ſome ſtrength under Juſtinian, by the bravery of Beliſarius and Narſes. Rome, often taken and retaken, remains at laſt to the emperors. The Saracens, grown powerful by the diviſion of their neighbors, and the remiſſneſs of the emperors, take from them the greater part of the Eaſt; and harraſs them ſo on that ſide, that they think of Italy no more. The Lombards ſeize the fineſt and richeſt provinces there. Rome, reduced to extremity by their continual inroads, and undefended by her emperors, is forced to throw herſelf into the arms of the French. Pepin, king of France, paſſes the Alps, and reduces the Lombards. Charlemain, after aboliſhing their dominion, cauſes himſelf to be crowned king of Italy, where his moderation alone preſerves ſome ſmall remains to the ſucceſſors of the Ceſars; and, in the eight-hundredth year of our Lord, elected emperor by the Romans, he founds the new empire.

It is now eaſy for you to underſtand the cauſes of the riſe and fall of Rome.

You ſee that that ſtate, founded upon war, and thence naturally diſpoſed to encroach upon its neighbors, brought the whole world under the yoke, by improving to the higheſt degree policy and the art of war.

You ſee the cauſes of the diviſions of the republic, and at laſt of her fall, in the jealouſies of her citizens, and in the love of liberty, carried to a delicacy inſupportable.

No

No more have you any difficulty to diſtinguiſh all the periods of Rome, whether you chooſe to conſider her in herſelf, or with reference to other nations; and you ſee the changes that muſt neceſſarily attend the ſituation of affairs in each period.

In herſelf, you ſee her at the beginning in a monarchical ſtate, eſtabliſhed according to her primitive laws; afterwards in her liberty; and at length ſubjected once more to monarchical government, but by force and violence.

It is eaſy for you to conceive in what manner the popular ſtate was formed, after the beginnings it had in the time of royalty: and you ſee no leſs evidently, how in liberty were gradually laid the foundations of the new monarchy.

For in like manner as you have ſeen the ſcheme of the republic drawn in the monarchy, by Servius Tullius, who gave, as it were, a fore-taſte of liberty to the Roman people; ſo have you obſerved that the tyranny of Sylla, though temporary, though ſhort-lived, ſhowed that Rome, notwithſtanding her haughtineſs, was as capable of bearing the yoke, as the nations ſhe held in ſubjection.

To know what that furious jealouſy between the orders ſucceſſively operated, you have onely to diſtinguiſh the two periods which I have expreſsly marked out to you; one, in which the people were kept within certain bounds, by the dangers which encompaſſed

compaſſed them; the other, when, having nothing more to fear from abroad, they gave themſelves up without reſtraint to their paſſion.

The eſſential character of theſe periods is, that in one, the love of country, and of the laws, reſtrained the ſpirits; and that, in the other, every thing was decided by intereſt and force.

Hence it alſo followed, that in the former of thoſe times, men in command, who aſpired at honors by lawful means, kept the ſoldiers in aw, and attached to the commonwealth; whereas, in the other time, when violence carried every thing, they ſtudied onely how, by indulgence, to make them eſpouſe their deſigns in defiance of the authority of the ſenate.

By the latter ſtate, war was neceſſarily in Rome; and, by the genius of war, the command came naturally into the hands of a ſingle chief; but, becauſe in war, where laws are no more, force alone decides, the ſtrongeſt muſt remain maſter; and, conſequently, the empire revert into the power of one.

And things were ſo tending to it of themſelves, that Polybius, who lived in the moſt flouriſhing time of the commonwealth, foreſaw, by the mere diſpoſition of affairs, that the ſtate of Rome would at long-run return to monarchy. Polyb. vi. 1. & ſeq. 41. & ſeq.

The reaſon of this change is, that the diviſion between the orders could never ceaſe among the Romans, but by the authority of an

an abſolute maſter; and that, beſides, liberty was too dear to be voluntarily parted with. It was therefore gradually to be weakened by ſpecious pretences, and ſo fit to be ruined by open force.

Polit. v. 4. Impoſition, according to Ariſtotle, ſhould begin with flattering the people, and muſt naturally be followed by violence.

But hence muſt ſpring another inconvenience in the power of the military men, an evil inevitable to that ſtate.

In fact, that monarchy which the Ceſars formed, having ariſen by arms, muſt be wholely military; ſo eſtabliſhing itſelf under an emperor, the proper and natural title of the commander of armies.

Thence you may have obſerved, that, as the commonwealth had its inevitable weakneſs, in the jealouſy between the people and ſenate; ſo the monarchy of the Ceſars had its weakneſs, in the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers who had made them.

For it was not poſſible that the military men, who had overturned the government, and ſet up the emperors, ſhould be long without perceiving who diſpoſed of the empire.

You may now add to the times you have been obſerving, thoſe which exhibit to you the ſtate and alteration of the ſoldiery; that in which it is ſubject and attached to the ſenate and Roman people; that in which it devotes itſelf to its generals; that in which it raiſes them to abſolute power under the military title of emperor; and that in which commander

commander of the commanders it creates, it makes and unmakes them at pleaſure. Hence the remiſsneſs of duty, hence the ſeditions and wars you have ſeen; hence, in fine, the ruin of the ſoldiery with that of the empire.

Such are the remarkable times, which exhibit to us the changes of the ſtate of Rome conſidered in herſelf. Thoſe, which make her known to us with reference to other nations, are no leſs eaſy to be diſcerned.

There is the time, in which ſhe fights againſt her equals, and is in danger. It laſts ſomewhat above five hundred years, and ends at the overthrow of the Gauls in Italy, and of the empire of the Carthaginians.

That, in which ſhe fights always with advantage, and without danger, how great ſoever be the wars ſhe undertakes. It laſts two hundred years, and reaches to the eſtabliſhment of the empire of the Ceſars.

That, in which ſhe preſerves her empire and majeſty. It laſts four hundred years, and ends at the reign of Theodoſius the Great.

That, finally, in which her empire, wounded on all ſides, falls piecemeal. This ſtate, which laſts alſo four hundred years, commences at the ſons of Theodoſius, and terminates in Charlemain.

I am not ignorant, SIR, that to the cauſes of the ruin of Rome might be added many particular incidents. The rigor of creditors to their dettors excited great and frequent revolts. The prodigious number of gladiators and ſlaves, with which Rome and Italy

were encumbered, occaſioned terrible violences, and even bloody wars. Rome, drained by ſo many domeſtic and forain wars, made herſelf ſo many new citizens, either through ſollicitation or neceſſity, that ſhe could ſcarce know herſelf again, among ſo many ſtrangers whom ſhe had naturaliſed. The ſenate filled with barbarians; the Roman blood became mixed: the love of country, by which Rome had raiſed herſelf above all the nations of the world, was not natural to thoſe citizens from abroad; and the reſt were tainted by the mixture. Partialities multiplied with that enormous multiplicity of new citizens; and turbulent ſpirits found new means to embroil and to enterpriſe.

Meanwhile the number of poor increaſed without end, through the luxury, debauchery, and idleneſs, that were introducing. Thoſe, who found themſelves ruined, had no reſource but in ſeditions; and in any event cared little though all ſhould go to wreck after them. You know that this occaſioned Catilines conſpiracy. The ambitious great, and wretches that have nothing to loſe, are always fond of change. Both theſe ſorts of citizens prevailed in Rome: and the middle ſtate, which alone keeps the balance in popular governments, being the weakeſt, the republic muſt neceſſarily fall.

To this we may join the particular temper and genius of thoſe who cauſed the commotions; I mean, of the Gracchi, of Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Julius Ceſar, Antony, and Auguſtus.

Auguſtus. Some hints of them I have given: but my chief buſineſs have I made it to diſcover to you the general cauſes and true root of the evil; that jealouſy between the orders, of which it concerned you to weigh well the conſequences.

But remember, SIR, that that long concatenation of particular cauſes, which make and unmake empires, depends upon the ſecret order of divine providence. God, from the higheſt heaven, holds the reins of all the kingdoms of the earth; he has all hearts in his hand: ſometimes he reſtrains the paſſions; ſometimes he lets them looſe; and ſo moves mankind. Means he to make conquerors? he bids terror march before them, and inſpires them and their ſoldiers with an invincible reſolution. Means he to make lawgivers? he ſends them his ſpirit of wiſdom and foreſight: he enables them to prevent the evils that threaten ſtates, and to lay the foundations of public tranquillity. He knows human wiſdom to be always ſhort in ſome reſpect: he enlightens her, he enlarges her views, and then he leaves her to her own ignorance; he blinds her, he precipitates her, he confounds her by herſelf; ſhe involves herſelf, ſhe entangles herſelf in her own ſuttleties, and her precautions prove her ſnare. God exerciſes by this means his awful judgements, according to the rules of his unerring juſtice. He it is, who prepares effects in the remoteſt cauſes; and he it is, who ſtrikes thoſe great ſtrokes, of which the counter-

ſtroke reaches ſo far. When he means to let looſe the latter, and to overturn empires, their counſels are weak and irregular. Egypt, formerly ſo wiſe, goes on inebriated, raſh, and reeling; becauſe the Lord has ſpred the ſpirit of giddineſs in her counſels. She knows no more what ſhe does; ſhe is loſt. But let not men deceive themſelves: God ſets right, when he pleaſes, the bewildered mind; and he, who inſulted over the blindneſs of others, falls often into thicker darkneſs himſelf, without there needing aught elſe, to turn his head, than his long proſperity.

Thus it is that God reigns over all nations. Let us talk no more of chance, or of fortune; or talk of them onely as of a name, with which we cover our ignorance. What is chance, in regard to our uncertain counſels, is a concerted deſign in a higher counſel; in that eternal counſel, which contains all cauſes and effects in one and the ſame order. After this manner every thing concurs to the ſame end; and it is for want of underſtanding the whole, that we find chance or irregularity in particular emergencies.

1 Tim. vi. 15. Hence is verified the ſaying of the apoſtle, that *God is the bleſſed and onely Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords:* bleſſed, whoſe peace is unalterable; who ſees every thing change without changing himſelf, and who cauſes all changes by an immutable counſel; who gives and takes away power; who,

who transfers it from one man to another, from one houſe to another, from one people to another, to ſhow, that they all have it onely borrowed, and that it is he alone in whom it naturally reſides.

Therefore is it that all, who govern, find themſelves ſubject to a higher power. They do more or leſs than they intend, and their counſels have never failed of having unforeſeen effects. Neither are they maſters of the diſpoſitions, which paſt ages have given to affairs; nor can they foreſee, what courſe futurity will take; far leſs are they able to force it. He alone holds all in his own hand, who knows the name of that which is, and of that which is not yet; who overrules all times, and prevents all counſels.

Alexander little thought that he was laboring for his captains, or to ruin his houſe by his conqueſts. When Brutus inſpired the Roman people with a boundleſs love of liberty, he dreamt not that he was ſowing in their minds the ſeeds of that unbridled licence, by which the tyranny, he meant to deſtroy, was to be one day reſtored more grievous than under the Tarquins. When the Ceſars flattered the ſoldiers, they had no intention of giving maſters to their ſucceſſors, and to the empire. In a word, there is no human power that does not miniſter, will it or no, to other deſigns than its own. God alone knows how to bring every thing about to his will: therefore every thing is ſurpriſing, to conſider onely particular cau-

ſes; and yet every thing moves on in a regular train. This diſcourſe gives you to underſtand it; and, to ſay no more of other empires, you ſee by how many counſels unforeſeen, but coherent in themſelves, the fortune of Rome has been traced from Romulus to Charlemain.

You will perhaps think, SIR, that I ſhould have told you ſomething more about your Frenchmen; and about Charlemain, who founded the new empire. But, beſides that his hiſtory makes part of that of France, which yourſelf are writing, and in which you are ſo far advanced, I reſerve myſelf for a ſecond part I intend to make you of this work; in which I ſhall have neceſſary occaſion to ſpeak to you of France, and of that great conqueror, who, equal in valor to any that antiquity boaſts, ſurpaſſes them all in piety, in wiſdom, and in juſtice.

The ſame ſecond part will diſcover to you the cauſes of the prodigious ſucceſs of Mahomet and his ſucceſſors. That empire, which commenced two hundred years before Charlemain, might find its place in this part; but I thought it would be better to ſet before you, in one and the ſame ſeries, its riſe and its decline.

Thus have I no more to ſay on the firſt part of Univerſal Hiſtory. You will diſcover all its ſecrets, and be enabled, as you now are, to obſerve in it the whole progreſſion of religion,

religion, with that of great empires, down to Charlemain.

While you ſhall ſee them fall, almoſt all of themſelves, and ſhall ſee religion ſtand by her own ſtrength; you will eaſily perceive what is ſolid greatneſs, and where a wiſe man ought to place his hope.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

THOUGH the Tranſlation of this Work, printed in 1748, has been twice pirated; in leſs danger of impoſition is the Public, now enabled to compare the Verſions. Not that the Author of both can be ſuppoſed inclinable to decry either: but he may be expected to account for the ſecond, and to aſcertain its advantages.

Five and twenty years after the appearance of the former, being ſollicited to its reviſal for another Edition, he found without much ſurpriſe, that every page, if not every paragraph, required conſiderable amendment. He owed therefore to the name of BOSSUET, and to his own, the reſumption of a taſk, which had been executed even before he had formed any ſtile to himſelf; and many years before he had digeſted *The Principles of the Engliſh Language*, or reduced *Engliſh Grammar to Analogy*.*

So

* Publiſhed in two Volumes, 1765.

So excited at length, and emboldened to duty, he proceeded anew on the moſt authentic Paris-Edition of the *Hiſtoire Univerſelle*, collated with the Louvre-Original. Here he was indeed ſomewhat ſurpriſed to find many paſſages, nay whole paragraphs; that had been mutilated or omitted, by whatever cauſe, in the Dutch Edition, whence the former Tranſlation was made. Such paſſages and paragraphs are therefore reſtored in this Verſion: as will particularly appear Vol. I. p. 53, 179, 211; Vol. II. p. 5, and 138; compared with Vol. I. p. 57, 199, 236; Vol. II. p. 3, and 156, of the preceding.

But in this a more material improvement will be found. The Chronology, which, through a long courſe of careleſs Editions, in various countries and tongues, had become proportionably erroneous, has here been examined and readjuſted, with the attention due at once to the Subject and the Author.

While Truth is thus relighted by Time himſelf, and ſet forth in that ſimplicity, which alone can adorn her; perhaps every poſſible care has been taken that the beauties, of manner as well as matter,

matter, which have ever diſtinguiſhed the Original, ſhould no more be wholely loſt in Transfuſion.